

The Outlook

Vol. 72

October 11, 1902

No. 6

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President Roosevelt's Plea for Peace

Last week President Roosevelt, as the representative of the Nation, summoned the Presidents of the anthracite roads and the independent mining companies and the President of the United Mine Workers to confer with him regarding the settlement of the conflict from which the Nation is suffering. The proposal that both parties should confer with him relieved the operators from the necessity of appearing to "recognize" the United Mine Workers when they entered into a conference, and they accepted the President's invitation knowing that they need meet Mr. Mitchell only as a fellow-guest of the President. When the conference assembled on Friday morning, President Roosevelt defined his position and that of the public in the following forcible words:

There are three parties affected by the situation in the anthracite trade: the operator, the miner, and the general public. The questions at issue which led to the situation affect the operators and the miners; but the situation itself vitally affects the public.

As long as there seemed to be a reasonable hope that these matters could be adjusted it did not seem proper to me to intervene in any way. I disclaim any right or duty to intervene in this way upon legal grounds, but the urgency and the terrible nature of the catastrophe impending over a large portion of our people impel me to believe that my duty requires me to use whatever influence I personally can to bring to an end a situation which has become literally intolerable.

We are upon the threshold of winter, with an already existing coal famine, the future terrors of which we can hardly yet appreciate. The evil possibilities are so far-reaching, so appalling, that it seems to me that you are not only justified in sinking, but required to sink for the time being, any tenacity as to your respective claims in the matter at issue between you. The situation imperatively requires that you meet upon the common plane of the necessities of the public.

I do not invite a discussion of your respective claims and positions. I appeal to your patriotism, to the spirit that sinks personal

considerations and makes individual sacrifices for the general good.

The Reply of the Combatants

When the President had finished speaking, Mr. Mitchell, representing the mine workers, expressed his sense of the gravity of the situation, and said: "We are willing to meet the gentlemen representing the coal operators to try to adjust our differences among ourselves. If we cannot adjust them that way, Mr. President, we are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall determine the issues that have resulted in the strike, and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the award or decision of such a tribunal the miners will willingly accept it, even if it is against their claims." This definite proposal of arbitration, not through a body partly selected by the United Mine Workers, but through one wholly selected by the President of the United States, plainly called for a definite response. Time for deliberation was given by the adjournment of the conference until three o'clock. When it reassembled, President Baer, of the Reading Railway, the first spokesman of the operators, made the following reply to Mr. Mitchell's proposition:

The "domestic tranquillity" which every constitution declares is the chief object of government does not exist in the coal regions. There is a terrible reign of lawlessness and crime there. Only the lives and property of the members of the secret, oath-bound order which declared that the locals should "have full power to suspend operations at collieries" until the non-union men joined their order are safe.

If the power of Pennsylvania is insufficient to re-establish the reign of law, the Constitution of the United States requires the President, when requested by the Legislature and the Governor, "to suppress domestic violence." You see, there is a lawful way to secure coal for the public.

Under these conditions we decline to accept Mr. Mitchell's considerate offer to let our men work on terms he names. He has no right to

come from Illinois to dictate terms on the acceptance of which anarchy and crime shall cease in Pennsylvania.

We will add to our offer "to continue the wages existing at the time of strike, and to take up at each colliery and adjust any grievance," this further condition: if the employers and employees at any particular colliery cannot reach a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievance, it shall be referred to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated for final determination.

The presidents of other coal-carrying roads spoke in a similar vein, and the general counsel of one of them urged that the United Mine Workers could and should be proceeded against by the Federal Government under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Mr. John Markle, the representative of the independent operators, called upon the President to send troops to restore domestic order, without awaiting the call from State officers for which the Constitution of the United States provides. "A record of twenty-one murders, a long list of brutal assaults, houses and bridges dynamited, and daily acts of violence" were the evidences, he declared, of a condition of lawlessness, and, addressing the President, he said: "I ask you to perform the duties vested in you as President at once to squelch the anarchistic condition of affairs by the strong arm of the military under your command." Mr. Mitchell, in his concluding statement for the United Mine Workers, admitted the existence of spasmodic acts of violence and expressed keen regret therefor, but declared the charge that twenty murders had been committed to be untrue. There had been but seven deaths, he said, and three of these were at the hands of members of the coal and iron police. In his final statement of the position of the mine workers he said, addressing the President:

Confident of our ability to demonstrate to any impartial tribunal the equity of our demands for higher wages and improved environment, we propose that the issues culminating in this strike shall be referred to you and a tribunal of your own selection, and agree to accept your award upon all or any of the questions involved. If you will accept this responsibility, and the representatives of the coal operators will signify their willingness to have your decision incorporated in an agreement for not less than one year or more than five years, as may be mutually determined between themselves and the anthracite coal mine workers, and will pay the scale of wages which you and the tribunal appointed by you

shall award, we will immediately call a convention and recommend a resumption of work.

We have commented in another column on this conference and the indications it affords as to the responsibility for the further continuance of the present and prospective calamitous conditions.



An Eight-Hour Day with Eleven Hours' Pay Following the National Convention of Employer and Employee recently held in Minneapolis, the employers and employees of the city's greatest industry, flour-milling, have given to the world a model exhibition of an amicable way of settling differences. The flour-mills run day and night, year in and year out, except when they close for repairs. The men have always worked in two shifts of twelve hours each. They have long felt that there were too many hours in their workday, though as a rule relations between employers and employees in this industry have been very friendly. Recently they organized a local and also an international union. On September 24 the mill-owners received notice from the union members that they would strike on Monday, September 29, unless the employers would grant an eight-hour day at twelve-hour pay. Two days after receiving this demand the employers replied, through letters directed to the mill foremen, that they would grant the eight-hour day; and while refusing to concede twelve-hour pay, agreed to increase the rate of pay ten cents per hour. This meant that the best-paid class of men, the "millers," who now receive \$3 a day for twelve hours, would get thirty-five cents an hour for eight hours, or \$2.80 a day. The machinists and oilers were also to stand a proportionate reduction, while the sweepers were to get substantially the same pay as at present. The letter pointed out the abstract unfairness of asking the Minneapolis millers to do what had not yet been required of their competitors elsewhere who pay even less for a twelve-hour day than the Minneapolis millers do. In conclusion the millers said that if their men did not accept the terms offered, they would close their mills and seek new employees. The union met, considered the offer of the employers, and accepted it by an almost unanimous vote. After the meeting there were loud cheers

for the owners and cordial expressions of appreciation of their fairness. The best feeling now exists. The new schedule involves the employment of 120 additional "millers" at \$2.80 a day, while 464 men of this class are reduced from \$3 to \$2.80 a day. It will not be necessary to employ new men in the other classes. The net increase in the pay-roll will be about \$50,000 a year. Members of the union predict that the example of the Minneapolis millers will be powerfully instrumental in causing the whole flour-making industry of the United States to come to an eight-hour day. The concession made is, however, so unprecedentedly great that some friends of the workmen fear it cannot be permanent.



The Steamship Combination

The terms of the long-pending steamship combination have been made public by its formal incorporation under the lax restraints of the laws of New Jersey. The companies joined together are the American and Red Star, the Atlantic Transport, the White Star, the Leyland, and the Dominion. The three last-named companies are British, though one of them is American in ownership and merely flies the British flag because our law forbids American owners of foreign-built ships to fly the American flag over them. The new incorporation takes the name of the International Mercantile Marine Company, and its international character is further strengthened by an agreement with the great German companies—the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd—by which the German companies contribute a certain proportion of their dividends to the trust, and the trust pays to them six per cent. yearly on at least \$5,000,000. Several transatlantic steamship companies of the second rank are not enrolled as members of the combination, but it includes all of the very great lines except the Cunard. The fact that the combination is an international one which might fix its local habitation anywhere makes it more difficult for our American laws to deal with it; but the fact that it has chosen to incorporate in this country is evidence either of the laxity of the corporation laws in some of our States, or else of the unrelin-

quished demand of members of the combination for a subsidy from our National Government. If the latter has been an important factor in the matter, we are inclined to think that the managers of the combination misjudge public sentiment. The new combination is not in a field in which combination promises substantial economies, and the public believes that the motive for the combination is to prevent the competitive cutting of rates, and to advance rates as soon as it can be done without arousing a storm of public indignation. A proposal to subsidize such a combination would be objectionable to very nearly the entire public. The public action which the public will demand will be in the direction of a more rigid control of the corporation to prevent unjust rates. The first step toward this end is the enforcement of complete publicity for all its operations. This step is made peculiarly essential by the fact that a controlling interest in the steamship combination is reported to be in the same hands as a controlling interest in some of the transcontinental railway lines. A secret discrimination in railway rates might shut out the smaller steamship companies and the tramp ships from a fair chance to compete with their great rival. Publicity alone can prevent such secret agreements.



Relieving the Market by Straining the Law

The tightness of the money market—which is usual at this season of the year when money is needed in the rural districts to pay farm hands and to move the crops—became so extreme in this city at the beginning of last week that fear of a stock market panic began to prevail. The "call loans" which banks are accustomed to make to brokers on stock exchange collateral at purely nominal rates of interest were gradually advanced to an average of eighteen per cent., and they even touched thirty-five per cent. for a very brief period. A serious fall in the price of stocks set in. The previous Saturday's statement had shown that the National banks of this city had an extremely small surplus reserve, and many of them were down to the point at which they are required by law to contract loans. The rates, therefore, upon time loans to merchants

were advanced to six per cent. on the best notes, and higher rates were in prospect. At this juncture Secretary Shaw, after conference with leading New York bankers, took two radical steps which are practically without precedent, if not without warrant of law. The first and less important of these was a decision to accept other securities besides Government bonds from the banks with which the Government is now depositing \$130,000,000 of public funds, provided that the banks would use the Government bonds thus set free as a basis for further issues of bank notes. Heretofore the Secretaries of the Treasury have required that all these deposits of public funds without interest should be secured by Government bonds to the full value of the deposits, and Secretary Shaw less than a fortnight before was reported to hold that no other course was legally permissible. On reference to the National Bank Act, however, we find that the statute merely directs the Secretary to require from the banks "satisfactory security by the deposit of United States bonds and otherwise." Inasmuch as Secretary Shaw proposes to require Government bonds as security for a part of the deposits made with the banks, he conforms with the letter of the clause cited. Those who criticise his course, however, point out that when the National Bank Act came before the House of Representatives it required that deposits should be secured by "United States bonds" alone, and that the words "and otherwise" were merely added to cover the point that it was then the rule of the Secretary to require "a personal bond in addition to United States stock," and they insist that these words should be interpreted in the light of the history of their adoption.

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**A Narrower Basis
of Credit**

This, however, is a minor matter compared with the Secretary's decision that no reserve need be kept by the banks against deposits received from the Government. By this decision the banks were authorized at once to increase their loans by \$130,000,000 if they so desired—for they might put this additional sum to the credit of their patrons and still keep the reserve required by law under the Secretary's new interpretation. The

legality of this interpretation has been denied by men in fullest sympathy with the purpose Secretary Shaw had in view in making it, and on Friday a false report that another Treasury official had refused to accept it created a new and serious flurry on Wall Street. The text of the Bank Act bearing upon this point prescribes that every National banking association in the certain specified cities

shall at all times have on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least twenty-five per centum of the aggregate amount of its notes in circulation and its deposits; and every other association shall at all times have on hand in lawful money of the United States an amount equal to at least fifteen per centum of the aggregate amount of its notes in circulation and of its deposits.

In this statute no exception is made of the deposits of the United States Government. Comptroller Ridgely, in justifying the exception made by his chief, says:

The public moneys are in the nature of special deposits, for which the banks are required to enter United States bonds in sufficient amount to cover the deposits; and as it is the rule of the Treasury not to make deposits to the full value of the securities held by the Treasury, there would seem to be no good reason for requiring that a sum in lawful money equal to one-fourth of the amount of public money held temporarily should be also put aside by the depository bank.

But if such be the import of the law, why are the banks required to keep a reserve of twenty-five (or fifteen) per cent. against the notes they have in circulation, which also are secured by Government bonds? No one questions Secretary Shaw's public-spirited purpose in endeavoring to construe the law so as to increase the supply of money and credit at the service of the business community, but laws ought not to be changed by a construction which does violence to their obvious meaning. Furthermore, at the present juncture, when prices of all kinds are high, and the prices of stocks are especially high, it is very doubtful whether it is the part of wisdom for the Secretary of the Treasury to come to the relief of the market by further widening the fabric of bank credits by relatively narrowing the reserve on which it rests. The immediate effects are good, but it is dangerous to create the feeling that the stock market "boom" can be pushed to still further heights. We are glad to observe that the Clearing-House banks of New York City have

been conservative in their action, and have refused to report the increase in their surplus reserve which Secretary Shaw's decision permitted. They have reported a surplus reserve of less than two million dollars, when they might have reported twelve millions by assuming that no reserve was any longer needed against deposits received from the Government.



**Massachusetts
Republicans**

The Republican State Convention, which was held last week Thursday in Boston, was distinctively conservative in its action. The programme of the State leaders, among whom Senator Lodge is probably politically the most influential, was carried out harmoniously, and in the Convention itself there was little occasion or opportunity for the individual expression of opinion. The tariff plank of the platform was cautiously, not to say skillfully, drawn, and, while declaring for the principle of protection, expresses the belief that the Republican party is the one to revise the tariff, and will do so whenever commercial exigencies or changed conditions warrant a revision which will not be a check upon industrial prosperity. Two delegates made individual protests against this plank and demanded a declaration for immediate revision, such as would put certain raw materials needed in New England manufactures on the free list. For five or ten interesting minutes, during which there was approval of these protests manifest on the part of certain localities represented in the Convention, it looked as though the delegates might be stampeded in favor of the "Iowa idea" and Canadian reciprocity; but Senator Lodge in an extemporaneous and telling speech very skillfully brought the Convention back to a support of his conservative position. Notwithstanding the utterance of the Convention, there are many indications that the tariff revisionists are growing in numbers, power, and courage in Massachusetts. To the outside observer, not interested in local political conditions in Massachusetts, the most striking feature of the Convention was the address of the permanent Chairman, ex-Secretary Long. It was a notable example of a political speech made by a loyal party man who does not hesitate to

criticise mean party methods and urge high standards both for measures and for men upon party managers as well as upon voters. The Republican party of Massachusetts has a highly creditable history, and other States may look with envy upon its possession to-day, in active and influential political life, of a man of such character and personality as ex-Secretary Long.



**The New York
Democratic Convention**

The Democratic State Convention in New York was completely under the control of ex-Senator Hill and the conservative reorganizers. Not only was there no indorsement of the Kansas City platform, but there was no conflict respecting an indorsement. The only conflict in the Convention was over the seating of Devery, whose election as leader in his Assembly District in New York City was felt to be a party disgrace. In order that it should not prove a still more serious load to the party in the State campaign, Tammany Hall supported ex-Senator Hill in excluding Mr. Devery from the Convention. In making up the provisional roll of delegates, Tammany Hall recognized the contesting delegation from Devery's district, and the Convention, by a vote of 422 to 21, sustained a report of the Committee on Credentials that neither of the delegations was entitled to a seat. Devery, who had gone to Saratoga with a throng of admiring dependents, made a hard fight for recognition, and is believed to have won new sympathy in his district by obtaining the rôle of a victim of persecution, but the position taken by the Convention is an impregnable one. The English law by which bribery at elections has been practically suppressed has as its fundamental principle that no candidate making use of bribery can be seated, and that if both candidates can be shown to have used it the seat remains vacant until an honest election is held. This wholesome principle, applied to the Ninth Assembly District in New York, vitiated the title of all the claimants to a part in the proceedings of the State Convention. The nominees of the Convention for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor—ex-Comptroller Coler, of New York, and Mr. C. N. Bulger, of Oswego—were the two

most pronounced antagonists of Crokerism at the Convention two years ago. At that time Mr. Croker prevented the nomination of Mr. Coler, although the Comptroller was the choice of a great majority of the Democratic voters in New York City. He was also the choice of many independents, on account of his successful resistance of the Ramapo grab. He, however, lost favor with some of the independents by his willingness to accept the Tammany nomination for Mayor a year ago—Mr. Coler insisting upon a distinction between the machine in control of Tammany and the Democratic voters of the city for whom Tammany Hall is the official party organization, with its leaders chosen at the regular party primaries. The platform of the Convention demanded the building up of the State canal system, the revision of the tariff to prevent trust extortion, and the granting of reciprocity to Cuba, and condemned the Philippine policy of the Administration. Its one striking plank, however, was a demand that the National Government should, under the right of eminent domain, establish public ownership of the anthracite coal monopoly. This piece of radical Socialism and concentration of power in the National Government is the more startling as it comes from a Convention controlled by ex-Senator Hill, whose motto is, "I am a Democrat," and who a few years ago resisted an income tax on account of its "socialistic tendency." The radicalism of the new declaration, however, is materially tempered by the fact that it could not be carried into effect without an amendment to the Constitution, which gives Congress no powers except those explicitly named, and those necessarily incident thereto. Whether it will be a good plank for a five weeks' campaign depends, it has been remarked, on the length of the strike and the state of the weather.

Mayor Low Demands
Assessments at
True Value



Mayor Low, of New York City, has issued a second statement

defending his policy of requiring property to be assessed at its true value, as the law demands. The duty of carrying out the obvious meaning of the law is, he points out, only one of the reasons for overthrowing the present system—or rather chaos—

of undervaluations. The State Constitution forbids the city to issue bonds in excess of one-tenth of the assessed value of the property within it, and the city has now been brought face to face with the following alternatives. Either "all public improvements except school buildings, and all local improvements, must shortly stop; or, the State Constitution must be amended so as to enlarge the city's credit; or, the city's real estate must be assessed at full value, as the law directs." "The first alternative is not thinkable, while the second is only less objectionable, since it would stop all public improvements for three years." The only valid practical reason ever urged against full assessments was the fact that such a policy would formerly have required New York City to pay a much larger share of State taxation, as local officials in other parts of the State adopted low assessments in order to lessen the State contributions of their communities. But at the present time nearly all State expenses in New York are met by the liquor taxes, the corporation taxes, and the inheritance tax. The amount raised for the State by the direct taxation of property is insignificant, and no city, therefore, is any longer subjected to a heavy fine if it obeys the law and assesses property at its true value. But the final reason in favor of the reform, and the one which will carry the most weight with truth and justice loving people, is the way in which undervaluations lead to gross discriminations among individual taxpayers. Says Mayor Low:

The truth is that the principal hardship connected with taxation in any form comes from inequality. If it were practicable actually to assess every piece of property on the same basis, there would be very little complaint. In a series of years assessments will be fairer on full value than on any other basis; for full value is a standard which the law recognizes. Excess may be cut down and undervaluation may be put up when your standard is that which the law prescribes. An incompetent or dishonest deputy may then be found out and dismissed; but when nobody is assessed according to law, there is practically no remedy.

As in other fields, untruth supports injustice—all evil forces working together for evil. The chief practical danger from increased assessments—that they may be used to hide extravagant expenditures—is lessened when the increase is made openly

and in every quarter. Then the entire public is on the alert to see that the rate of taxation is diminished. In Massachusetts full assessments are general, but municipal extravagance is surely no greater there than in New York.



The Minneapolis Police Scandal

A jury in Minneapolis last week returned a verdict of guilty against Frederick W. Ames, formerly Superintendent of Police of that city, under trial on a charge of accepting a bribe. Mr. Ames was sentenced by the presiding judge to a term of six and one-half years in the Minnesota penitentiary at Stillwater. The convicted man is a brother of Dr. A. A. Ames, former Mayor of Minneapolis, now in retreat at West Baden, Indiana, broken in health. The former Mayor is himself under indictment for attempted bribery and conspiracy, the charge of bribery being in connection with the effort on the part of Mayor Ames to have his private secretary chosen by the County Commissioners as sheriff, to fill a vacancy that existed. The election of Dr. Ames as Mayor two years ago, and the appointment of Mr. Ames as Superintendent of Police, were followed by an era of disgraceful criminality in high places that brought Minneapolis into very unpleasant notoriety. Police officials entered into alliance with criminals and took bribes for affording protection to law-breakers. The specific charge on which Mr. Ames was convicted was that of accepting bribe-money from the keeper of a disorderly house. There were other charges that police officers shared in the plunder of thieves, and, in connection with the charges, three minor police officials were convicted and sentenced before the former head of the department was brought to trial. The vigor with which the prosecutions have been pushed is evidence that Minneapolis does not belong in the class of misgoverned cities. Mr. Jones, who has been Mayor since the retirement from office of Dr. Ames, has shown himself remarkably efficient in righting conditions that existed, and especially in improving the police force. Both the nominees for Mayor to be voted for at the coming November election are said by the Minneapolis papers to be men of ability

and good character. It is worth noting in this connection that the papers in both Minneapolis and St. Paul represent that the Minnesota system of direct nomination at the primaries has resulted in the nomination on both tickets of a better class of candidates for local offices than is usually presented to the electorate.



Home Economics

The work of the session of the Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics recently held may be summarized under three heads: Discussion of Home Economics, Publications, Consideration of Educational Methods. It is the habit of the Conference to concentrate its attention each year upon some particular branch of the subject. This year the special topic was The Family in its Sociological Relations. Dr. Thomas D. Wood, head of the Department of Physical Education in Columbia University, was present and made an address on "Some Controlling Ideals in the Family Life of the Future." Dr. Wood emphasized the necessity for the application to family life of the principle of "projected efficiency." He said that when individuals and families rationally and intelligently subordinate their interests as perfectly to the welfare of the future as animals subordinate theirs under the influence of instinct, the world will have a much more effective and enduring type of family life than exists at present. This cannot be accomplished without the development of controlling ideals which are supported not only by reason and intelligence, but by ethical impulse and religious motive. Dr. Charles R. Henderson sent a paper on "Social Conditions Affecting the Law of Domestic Life," dwelling at length on the need and practicability of tenement-house legislation. Miss Caroline L. Hunt read a paper on "Public and Private Industry," in which she pointed out the significance to family life of the revival of the handicrafts. Mrs. Alice P. Norton, of the University of Chicago, in a paper upon the subject "What Shall We Do with Time Set Free by Modern Methods?" said that while no definite rules for efficient homemaking can be laid down, the present tumultuous social conditions make it particularly desirable that women should spend part of the energy set free by im-

proved housekeeping methods in serious study of the evolution of the home and of its present possibilities for usefulness.



Suggestions for Study

A symposium on current thought upon subjects related to the home, as indicated by recent publications, in which most of the members of the Conference took part, was a new and helpful feature of the programme. A committee was appointed to begin the preparation of a syllabus on Individual Efficiency, to be issued like those already prepared upon Home Economics and upon Food, and like the one upon Shelter, which is in process of preparation, by the Home Education Department of the University of the State of New York. These syllabi contain outlines, bibliographies, and suggestions for papers upon ten sub-topics under each general head. The subject of Individual Efficiency was adopted for the next syllabus, in order to bring out the relation of "wholeness" in the individual to domestic and social economy. A report on Home Economics in colleges and universities was submitted by Professor Mary Roberts Smith, of Leland Stanford University. After giving statistics gathered with much labor from one hundred institutions offering higher education to women, Professor Smith said: "In general, it may be stated that the women's colleges, with a single exception, offer no courses for training in Home Economics except more or less superficial ones in personal hygiene. Thus it appears that those colleges which have been supposed to 'conserve womanliness' in the highest degree provide no theoretical, much less technological, training directly preparing women for anything except professional life. Their courses are either purely cultural or prepare women for self-support, chiefly by teaching." The Conference adopted resolutions expressing the belief that the time had come when Home Economics should receive fuller recognition in the curriculum of colleges and universities. Reports were also read upon the work done in this line in secondary schools, in the industrial schools of the South, and in vacation schools. All showed a growing public recognition of the importance of the subject. Mrs. Melvil Dewey and Miss Mar-

tha Van Rensselaer, of the College of Agriculture of Cornell University, presented the need of Home Institutes in the rural districts, and of instruction for the country school teacher. Because of the needs of the various educational branches of the work, the Conference will next year leave the quiet of the Adirondacks, and, instead of accepting the hospitality of the Lake Placid Club, which it has enjoyed for four years, will hold a session in Boston at the time of the meeting of the National Educational Association. The following year it will return to Lake Placid.



The Panama Title Another step has been taken in the matter of the Isthmian Canal. Mr. William Nelson Cromwell, of New York City, the general counsel for the new Panama Company, who recently made an examination in France of the titles to the property of the Company, has issued a statement in which he says that, after thorough examination, he prepared and delivered to Attorney-General Knox in Paris every document relating to the properties of the new Panama Canal Company, from its inception in 1878 to this hour, establishing a complete and perfect chain of title in the country, and proving beyond question its full power to convey the canal, plant, concessions, and other properties to the United States, free of all liens and claims of every kind; that he delivered to the Attorney-General the opinion of his own firm on all the legal questions involved, and placed at that officer's service every document and record of the country. The questions involved, however, are governed by the laws of France, and accordingly all business questions were submitted to eminent French jurists, among them the late President of the Bar Association of France, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who has recently resigned the Premiership to resume the practice of his profession, and who is at the head of the French Bar. These eminent authorities, and others who were consulted, after the examination of all questions and documents, agree in the conclusion that the title of the company to the property it proposes to convey to the United States is absolute. While these interviews were being conducted, a bondholder of the old company raised

certain questions in the course of the liquidation of that company designed to interfere with a consummation of a sale to the United States; these questions were met by the company and the representatives of the bondholders, and the Civil Tribunal of the Seine in July rendered a decision confirming the decision of the new Panama Canal Company, and adjudging that the bondholders of the old company were bound by the preceding decrees of the court. From this decision an appeal was taken to the Court of Appeals, which in August rendered a decision confirming the position taken by the lower court. So that not only have the most eminent French authorities passed on the title of the new Panama Canal Company, but the French courts have also sustained that title. In order to satisfy the provisions of the Spooner law, it now remains to conclude a proper treaty with Colombia, and apparently considerable progress has been made to that end.



Mr. Balfour's Troubles Mr. Balfour's Ministry is in a rising sea of troubles; and, notwithstanding the fact that he has a majority of a hundred and fifty behind him in the House of Commons, the outlook for the future is serious. The opposition to the Educational Bill, already commented upon in these columns, grows steadily, and grows inside the Conservative lines. At Birmingham, which Mr. Chamberlain is supposed to control, the feeling against the bill is so intense that it is doubtful whether Mr. Chamberlain, with all his adroitness, can wheel his district into line. Many prominent Churchmen are coming out in opposition to the bill, and the Ministry is advised from many quarters to withdraw it. Under the circumstances, that would be almost as disastrous, from a political point of view, as to press it to the end. To make the situation still more complicated, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who has just resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, has made a vigorous onslaught on the War Office, which he declares is in as bad a condition as before the Boer War. He bases his attack on three grounds: that the War Office, while imposing a very heavy tax on the country, is not doing its work in exchange for the money;

that, despite the elaborate schemes brought forward by Mr. Brodrick, the War Office stands in sore need of radical reform; that such reform is possible only when, in place of the professional military man, a man is substituted who is indifferent to military cavils and deaf to professional jealousies, and, above all, who will have the courage to set at naught "all those outside influences which now interfere with the management of the army and with the selection for appointments and promotion." These criticisms have been in the air for years past; they have been stated again and again since the outbreak of the Boer War with great force; but they come with additional weight from an ex-Minister who is a Conservative of the Conservatives. The London "Spectator," commenting on the suggestion of the influence of the Court and of men of high political and social position in securing the army appointments, says with great frankness: "Though the army is still the King's and the navy the King's navy, the debt is the national debt." This bold statement has added to Mr. Balfour's difficulties; and if the Liberals had a definite policy and a recognized leader who could summon the entire strength of the Liberal forces, the Government would be in a perilous position.



**British Civilization
in Africa**

Sir Charles Eliot, Commissioner for British East Africa, has just published his report of an official journey through Uganda, the Upper Nile district, and the Sudan. Sir Charles seems to be the first traveler who has ever taken this long, interesting, but hitherto extremely perilous journey in safety. He tells us that nowhere did he meet with hostilities, and—what is still more surprising—that for long stretches he traveled on a good road. He admits that the mischief done by the Dervishes in the Upper Nile country and in the Sudan is still visible, but he adds that the natives have now become convinced of the security which lies in British protection, and are now slowly returning from the uplands to their former settlements on the river. Sir Charles declares the uplands to be specially susceptible of colonization, since Europeans can be assured of health and of excellent returns from cultivation of the soil. If these

regions are colonized, however, by the British, the difficulties of the English Government and of its representatives in Africa may be increased, since British settlers have always shown a natural tendency to become the ruling caste wherever they have colonized, and to come into conflict with the black or brown men about them. The inevitable result has been that the home Government has been compelled to send expeditions to protect these small groups of settlers. In this case, however, the British Government may congratulate itself upon the results so far obtained in the whole Nile region, from Egypt and the Sudan to Uganda and British East Africa. Nowhere, we believe, is there a more signal instance of what intelligence and energy may do in redeeming a native population enjoying many natural privileges but without the understanding of their use.



The Renaissance in Asia Minor

The restless energy of the German Emperor has been manifest in many directions, but nowhere does he seem to have played a more successful part than in his scheme to turn the tide of German colonization and trade to the inviting regions of Asia Minor. His most notable triumph was in convincing the Sultan, after a long course of political by-play, that Germany was the one power on which Turkey could properly rely for political and commercial countenance. Accordingly the Sultan recently signed an *iradé*, or order, granting a concession for the construction of a German railway across Asia Minor to Bagdad and Basra. This railway is already being built, and will open a vast territory which for centuries has been far away from the main currents of progress. Furthermore, it will bring the Persian Gulf into direct communication with Europe. The construction of this road has a peculiar interest for the United States; it may hurt us and it may help us. It may hurt us because we shall now have a new competitor in the production of wheat. Mesopotamia will furnish Germany and other countries with grain, and at the same time will create a new market for European manufactures. With this advantage we may reasonably expect German commercial policy to become more aggressive; at all events, the ancient

wheat-fields of Asia Minor may play a not inconsiderable part in the world's commerce, if not in the world's politics. The railway should help us because our own trade with Asia Minor ought to increase proportionately with proper transit facilities. It is well known that the large emigration from that country, especially from the provinces of Armenia, has been almost exclusively to America. Mr. Norton, our Consul at Harput, says that nearly every family in his district has a member or relative in the United States. The returned emigrants bring back a taste for American commodities, and facilitate the establishment of direct relations between the two countries. German manufactures in general are likely successfully to invade Asia Minor, but in one special department of manufactures, namely, agricultural implements, Americans should gain a new market. It is interesting to note that in this domain, while the only modern apparatus in Asia Minor is the fanning-mill, introduced by our own missionaries, the operations of plowing, harrowing, cultivating, reaping, and threshing are all performed with primitive appliances. The matter of introducing American machines has already been taken up by our people, and the Armenians are astounded to see that an American reaper accomplishes in a day what it has taken eighty men to do with existing facilities. Altogether, through the efforts of Germany and America, Asia Minor should experience an agricultural and commercial reawakening after centuries of isolation.



Russian Rule in Finland

The article on Finland which appeared in The Outlook three weeks ago receives decisive confirmation in the promulgation at St. Petersburg of four new ordinances relating to that country. The military service edict, which was promulgated some time ago, provides for compulsory service in the army for five years, and the privilege which the Finns had previously enjoyed of being required to serve only in the Grand Duchy is abolished. In a great petition to the Czar, signed by nearly five hundred thousand names, this edict was characterized as "a far-reaching infringement of the fundamental laws of

the Grand Duchy." By another edict the Russian language must be introduced in all the official departments and public offices before 1905. What this edict will mean is suggested by the fact that out of two million seven hundred thousand Finns, only eight thousand speak Russian. These edicts were crushing enough to Finnish pride and independence; but they are now followed by four new laws of the most drastic kind. The first law provides that the Finnish Senate, which is both the central organ of administration and the supreme court of justice, shall be hereafter under the direct supervision of the Governor-General appointed at St. Petersburg. The chancery of the Senate, which prepares all reports on subjects to be considered by that body, is to be directly dependent upon the Governor-General, and that officer, or his adjutant, is to be present at every important meeting. No decision can be taken in his absence without his consent, and he has the power of absolute veto on all resolutions passed by the Senate. The second edict clothes the Governor-General and the Senate, thus reorganized, with authority to dismiss without legal trial any administrative official who has not been appointed directly by the Czar. In cases where the appointment has been made by the Czar, the Czar's authorization is required. The third edict provides that the Judicial Department of the Senate shall dismiss judges at its pleasure; and the fourth edict, which is regarded as the most radical and far-reaching in its consequences, provides that no official, from the Governor-General down, can be brought to trial on any charge without the consent of his superiors. Heretofore all servants of the Crown have been responsible to the law for the legality of their actions, and this has served as a bar to the Russification of the country; by the operation of these laws all that remained of independence in Finland will be destroyed, and the country made subject to the absolute personal rule of the Czar.



The Peking-Shanhaikuan
Railway

Last week the British representatives in China transferred their part of the Peking-Shanhaikuan railway to the Chinese, and Russia re-

stored her part of the railway which lies in the province of Chili, but, it is understood, still retains the part which lies in the province of Manchuria and has its terminus at Niuchang, the great port of that province. The restoration of this road has been the most important of the unfulfilled obligations under the protocol concluded between the Chinese on the one side and the Allied Powers on the other. Both Russians and British have delayed its conclusion. The Russians had obtained the right to construct a great railway across the province of Mongolia, connecting their trans-Siberian road with Peking; also concessions for railways in certain northern provinces of China. Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister at Peking, on his part, was able to conclude an agreement with Yuan-Shi-Kai, the astute new viceroy of the province of Chili (succeeding the late Li-Hung-Chang), by the terms of which it was provided that all railways to be constructed in the neighborhood of the Peking-Shanhaikuan road shall not approach nearer than eighty miles to that line, and shall not be controlled by any Power save China. Russia has long regarded, not only the provinces of Manchuria and Mongolia, but also the provinces of Chili, Shansi, and Shensi, as one day indubitably coming to her. Hence the Anglo-Chinese agreement met with violent opposition; the Russian Minister declared that the Russian part of the Shanhaikuan road would not be restored at all unless the agreement were nullified. Germany and France also manifested strenuous opposition, as they had already obtained concessions for railways which would lie within the given sphere. As the English agreement seemed to indicate another case of Chinese duplicity, it was modified and with the result noted. The really great advantage which England has gained in China within the past few weeks has been in the direction of a new commercial treaty, which, according to repeated report, has been concluded between Sir James Mackay, Special Commissioner for the British Government, and the Chinese Government. If the treaty does no more than abolish the unrighteous *likin*, or internal transit tax, it will have accomplished a great good, not only for England, but for all nations trading with China. As England's interests, however, are much larger

than the interests of any other nations having relations with the eight provinces in the Yangtse Valley, those provinces, constituting the special British "sphere of influence" in China (as recognized by Russia), ought shortly to show the effect of a commercial renaissance. It should be especially notable in the development of Hankau, the most important of the Yangtse cities, the greatest native mart, and a town not inaptly called the Chicago of China.



The Pious Fund The Outlook has already reported the arguments on behalf of the United States in the Pious Fund case before the International Tribunal at The Hague. The Mexican side of the story has now been heard. Attorney de la Croix maintained on the part of Mexico that in the present dispute there was no question of conflict of nations, that it was a case of diplomatic intervention by the United States in favor of a private claim of the Archbishop of California against the Government of Mexico; that the fund in dispute was established for the object of the political conquest of California; that the right of disposing of the fund belonged to the King of Spain and, subsequently, to Mexico, but never to the Roman Catholic Church as such, or to the Archbishop of California; that the treaty concluded at Guadalupe in 1848 exonerated Mexico from liability to America or to American citizens; that the Californian Bishops after 1848 had no right or claim upon Mexico; that Mexican law prohibits religious associations from acquiring property, and that under this jurisdiction the claimants lost all rights. At a subsequent meeting of the Court an objection was made to any arguments founded on Mexican law, on the ground that international law overrode it. The hearing of the arguments has now been closed, and the Court's verdict will be delivered at a session the date of which has not yet been fixed.



General Booth and the Salvation Army General William Booth arrived in this country last Saturday, and intends visiting the chief cities in the Northern States. He will remain until the middle of February, and will meanwhile go as far West as the Pacific Coast, visit-

ing Los Angeles and San Francisco, and as far South as Washington. His object is, we judge, twofold—to visit the stations of the Army and acquaint himself with its work, and to put that work before the people of the United States. Its fundamental principles, as he explains them, are Religion and Self-support, both of which he embodies in the sentence: Some reformers endeavor to reform men by washing their shirts; we propose to wash their hearts and show them how to wash their own shirts. To quote him again: The people of England spend \$10,000,000 a year in housing their poor, and at the end of ten years there are as many to house as at the beginning; we propose to cure the poverty while we take temporary care of the poor. The commercial success of General Booth's enterprises, as he gives account of them, goes far to convince the incredulous that his plan is practically expedient as well as theoretically plausible. If any one asks, Why does he want money if his philanthropies are self-supporting? the answer is that all large enterprises in our day require large capital. He professes himself confident of his ability to pay three and one-half per cent. interest on capital loaned to him for investment in his enterprises. This kind of rescue work is very different from picking drowning men out of the water and leaving them to tumble in again. We bespeak for General Booth an attentive and considerate hearing wherever he goes.



The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Philippines Abundant enlargement is crowning the pioneer work done at Manila by the Rev. Dr. C. C. Pierce, who, in addition to his services as army chaplain, maintained Protestant Episcopal worship for both English and Filipino-speaking congregations during the early days of American occupancy of the islands. Largely through Chaplain Pierce's efforts, the Episcopalians of America have become specially aroused to the need of church work in the Philippines. An impressive official indication of this was the election at the last General Convention of a Bishop for the islands. The admirable choice of Dr. Brent has already been more than justified by the success of the propaganda which he insti-

tuted in this country before sailing for Manila. We are glad to chronicle that last week a comprehensive movement was definitely inaugurated and an appeal made for a million-dollar fund to establish the Church's work on a permanent and influential basis. The appeal was signed by Messrs. J. Pierpont Morgan and George Macculloch Miller, of New York, Marcus A. Hanna and Samuel Mather, of Cleveland, J. L. Houghteling, of Chicago, and W. H. Crocker, of San Francisco. It is certainly important, as the statement says, "that American Christianity should be in a position to carry on such work among the natives as will convince them of the benevolent intention of the people of the United States." An adequate fixed income must be available to this end, and the sum named as sufficient to yield it is one million dollars. Liberal contributions toward the proposed sum have already been made. It is announced that Bishop Brent has arrived at Manila, and that a site has already been secured on which to build a cathedral, together with structures for parish work. These will include a Settlement House, providing accommodations for nine clergymen, a physician, two trained nurses, some kindergartners and lay missionaries. Bishop Brent also wishes to establish definite and prolonged annual vacations for his workers in the mountains of Luzon, because, as he well says, Americans cannot remain over three years safely in the Manila climate; under present conditions they must then needs absent themselves from it for a year. An industrial school will also be established in connection with the cathedral foundation, for special instruction in agriculture and woodworking. The Protestant Episcopal propaganda in Manila, therefore, is an endeavor reaching beyond mere denominational lines. It should commend itself to the support of Christians of whatever name. The response already made to the Committee's appeal indicates that the Cathedral propaganda does so commend itself. If the Filipinos are ever to be thoroughly civilized and Christianized, it must be along some such broad lines as Bishop Brent has in mind. Not only the Episcopal Church but the whole country is to be congratulated upon his acceptance of the influential position to which he has been called.

The Coal Strike

We have reported in another column the results of the conference between the representatives of the coal operators, the representatives of the miners, and President Roosevelt, the representative of the people of the United States. We here give our judgment respecting this conference.

The President did both a brave and a wise thing in bringing the conference about. In every labor controversy affecting the price of important commodities and public conveniences the public is a third party, and its interests are more important than those of either laborer or capitalist engaged in the controversy. We are glad to have an official recognition of this fact, and we believe that the great body of people in the United States will approve the action of the President, whatever may be the immediate result, and will applaud him for attempting to serve their interests, even though for the moment that attempt appears to be thwarted. This at least he has accomplished: he has compelled both parties to this controversy to confront the fact that there is a public and that it has both interests and rights to be considered, and he has compelled both parties to state their case before the public. This has helped to clear the air and is in itself a gain, because it enables the public to form some judgment respecting the responsibility for the further continuance of the present conditions.

The attitude of the coal operators appears to us untenable, and the position which they have taken one from which sooner or later all who take it will be compelled to retreat. They have emphatically denied the moral if not the legal right of laborers to form a combination and act together as one body. A writer in the New York "Evening Post"—a paper which will not be accused of indifference to corporate interests—calls attention to the fact that the coal combination, which is a combination of mine owners and railroad companies, is in direct violation of the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, which provides as follows:

No incorporated company, doing the business of a common carrier, shall, directly or indirectly, prosecute or engage in mining, or manufacturing articles, for transportation over its works; nor shall such company, directly

or indirectly, engage in any other business than that of common carriers, or hold or acquire lands, freehold or leasehold, directly or indirectly, except such as shall be necessary for carrying on its business; but any mining or manufacturing company may carry the products of its mines and manufactories on its railroad or canal, not exceeding fifty miles in length.

What legal justification may be found in charters antedating the Constitution for the existing combination of the coal-mine owners and the railroad corporations we do not know, but it is perfectly evident that this combination has been made in defiance of the well-considered public sentiment of the State, expressed through its organic law. It is the men who constitute this unconstitutional if not illegal combination who condemn the attempt of laborers to form a combination which neither the Constitution nor the law of the land in terms prohibits. The wisdom of such combinations is not now in question; but it is perfectly evident that if it is right for mine owners to combine in order to control the output, regulate the price, and determine wages, it is also right for laborers to combine that they may have some real power in deciding what the wages and conditions of their labor shall be. There cannot be one ethical rule for the capitalist and another ethical rule for the laborer.

The operators, in the second place, charge the violations of law and order and the public crimes which have been increasing ever since the strike was initiated, upon the United Mine Workers. It is, according to Mr. Baer, "Mitchell's men who dynamite bridges and tracks, mob trainmen, and by all manner of violence try to prevent the shipment of coal to relieve the public." That there have been these crimes and this increasing violence is not to be questioned. They may be and probably are exaggerated by the coal operators. They may be and probably are minimized by Mr. Mitchell. The reports of the metropolitan newspapers corroborate the former, the reports of the local newspapers the latter, but the question is not material. It is the first duty of the Governor of the State to see to it that law is respected, order preserved, violence stopped, crime punished; that he has been lamentably weak and inefficient in his duty is sufficiently evi-

denced to the whole country. Every such strike lets loose the forces of violence and crime. This lamentable fact ought to be recognized by every capitalist and labor leader before the controversy between them comes to a strike, and by every official charged with the preservation of order when a strike is declared. If Governor Stone had acted with the vigor with which Governor Roosevelt acted when the strike was precipitated at the Croton Dam in 1900, there would have been little or no violence in the State of Pennsylvania. If he would act even now with courage and vigor, the country could at least know whether it is true that the failure of men to work is due to their revolt against existing industrial conditions or to the dread of mobs and murderers.

But there is not the slightest evidence to sustain the declaration that these crimes of violence have been promoted or encouraged, or are approved, by Mr. Mitchell or by the United Mine Workers whom he represents, and very little evidence that they have been perpetrated to any great extent by the members of that union. Unproved assertion, however vehemently made, is not evidence. The United Mine Workers cannot be justly condemned by the public for the crimes of violence without evidence, which the public does not now possess, to connect them with those crimes.

As to the rights of the public, the operators implicitly if not explicitly deny that the public have any rights. The tacit assumption underlying all their addresses to the President is that they own the coal-mines, that they have a right to operate the coal-mines in whatever way they see fit, that any questions at issue between them and their laborers are personal questions to be left for them to adjust as best they can, that the public have no rights in the premises, and that any attempt to interfere in the interest of the public is improper, illegitimate, and injurious.

The remedies which the mine operators suggest for the existing conditions appear to us, one of them wholly inadequate, the other quite impossible. The suggestion of Mr. Baer that the companies will "continue the wages existing at the time of the strike, and take up at each colliery and adjust any grievance," with

the proviso that "if the employers and employees at any particular colliery cannot reach a satisfactory adjustment of any alleged grievances, it shall be referred to the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas of the district in which the colliery is situated for final determination," leaves it uncertain whether Mr. Baer means to imply that he will treat with local labor unions though not with a National labor union, or means to imply that he will treat with employees only as individuals. If the latter is his meaning, the offer is valueless. History has made it perfectly clear that an individual laborer is no match for a great corporation, either in the courts or out of them. If he means the former, he should have made his statement more explicit. It is not too late even now to make that statement more explicit. If the mine operators were to unite in a statement that they would not submit questions at issue between themselves and their employees to settlement with a National union, but would settle them with local unions at each colliery, and, where an agreement could not be reached, would allow an appeal to the judges of the local courts and accept the decision as final, the responsibility for the further continuance of the strike would then rest upon the United Mine Workers. We do not believe, in view of Mr. Mitchell's public offer, that he or his organization would accept the responsibility of endeavoring to continue the strike under such conditions.

The other remedy proposed by the operators is thus phrased by Mr. John Markle: "I now ask you to perform the duties vested in you as the President of the United States, at once to squelch the anarchistic condition of affairs existing in the anthracite coal regions by the strong arm of the military at your command." There are three circumstances under which the President has the right to use the military forces of the United States to enforce law in a State: First, when the violence and disorder are such that the Governor cannot with the forces at his command preserve order. There is no reason to think that such a condition exists in the State of Pennsylvania, and no call has been made on the President by the Governor of that State for Federal aid. Second, when Federal operations, such as the carriage of

the mails, are interfered with. There has been no such interference with Federal operations in the State of Pennsylvania. Third, when the State is in revolt against the Federal Government. The State of Pennsylvania is not in revolt against the Federal Government. To assume, as the New York "Sun" does, that whenever the President thinks that domestic violence and the denial of justice exist in any State, he may order the Federal army into the State to interfere in its affairs and regulate them according to his judgment, is to attribute to the President the power of a Czar. Such an assumption of authority on his part would be fatal to the perpetuity of a self-governing and federal Republic.

Mr. Mitchell's statement as reported in the daily papers is conceived in better spirit than that of the mine operators, whatever opinion may be entertained of his propositions; for he made two distinct propositions. At the morning conference he said to the President:

We are willing that you shall name a tribunal who shall determine the issues that have resulted in the strike, and if the gentlemen representing the operators will accept the award of such a tribunal, the miners will willingly accept it, even if it is against their claims.

In our judgment, this proposition should have been, and should now be, accepted. Its acceptance by the operators would not involve any recognition of the United Mine Workers. It would only involve a recognition of the general public as represented by the President of the United States. For Mr. Mitchell did not in this offer ask to have any representative upon this tribunal; he did not even demand to be represented before it. But a demand for recognition was implied in the proposition which he made in the afternoon. To the suggestion of a tribunal constituted by the President to whom all the issues involved should be referred he added:

If you will accept this responsibility, and the representatives of the coal operators will signify their willingness to have your decision incorporated in an agreement for not less than one year or more than five years, as may be mutually determined between themselves and the anthracite coal mine workers, and will pay the scale of wages which you and the tribunal appointed by you shall award, we will immediately call a convention and recommend a resumption of work, upon the understanding that the wages which shall be paid are to go

in effect from the day upon which work is resumed.

Such an agreement could be signed for the mine workers only by their representative, and an agreement entered into with him would involve a recognition of the United Mine Workers which he represents. Yet it ought not to be forgotten that in 1900 the operators refused to sign an agreement with the representative of the United Mine Workers, and that nevertheless the strike was ordered off and the members of that organization went back to their work when the operators announced to the public that they would pay the wages which, through the United Mine Workers, the miners had demanded. If even now the operators were to say publicly, We will not make any agreement with the United Mine Workers, or with Mr. Mitchell as their representative, but we will concede the wages and labor conditions which a tribunal appointed by the President may deem just and right, there is no reason to believe that Mr. Mitchell would try to continue the strike, and there is very good reason to believe that he could not if he would. He has repeatedly affirmed that he does not insist on the recognition of the United Mine Workers by the operators, and he could not now repudiate that statement and carry the miners with him in the repudiation.

We wish, however, that Mr. Mitchell had supplemented—we wish that now he would supplement—his proposition by two additional statements: First, a call on the Governor of the State to use all the resources of the State to prevent violence and punish crime. His simple summons to the Governor to perform his duty in this respect would do much to acquit him before the public of all suspicion of complicity with those crimes, and much to bring the reign of lawlessness to an end. Second, a statement that he is willing and even desirous to have the accusations preferred against him and the organization of which he is president submitted to and investigated by such a tribunal as he has asked the President to constitute.

What can the President do more? Two things. The Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington, of Grace Church, in a sermon preached last Sunday suggests one of the two:

It is not likely that all this discontent should have sprung from nothing, been wholly engen-

dered by the wordy talk of agitators. Let President Roosevelt, now that his peace conference has failed, request a few men, widely known throughout the land for ability, fairness, and knowledge of the subject, and equally well known for their freedom from all political entanglements—let the President, I say, request some such group of picked men promptly to investigate the actual condition of things at the mines, and promptly to report the same, through him, to the American people. Public opinion will do the rest.

The Outlook heartily seconds this suggestion. It would give the public the knowledge which it does not now possess, would turn on both the coal combine and the United Mine Workers the light of publicity, and would make possible the formation of a public opinion which would be powerful because it would be, as it is not now, well informed and intelligent.

The other thing the President could do would be to call the attention of Governor Stone to the complaints which have been laid before him by prominent citizens of the State of Pennsylvania, that neither capitalists nor laborers can carry on their industries because of intimidation, lawlessness, and violence. He could do this without assuming to judge whether the complaints are well founded or not. And he would thus give public expression as well as personal sanction to the unanimous conviction of the third party which he represents, namely, the general public, that the maintenance of law, the repression of violence, and the punishment of crime are a fundamental condition to any just and therefore any enduring settlement of this or any similar public conflict.



Ethics and Penology

We are learning more and more, in the progress of Christian civilization, that ethics cannot be excluded from the relations of governments or individuals. We are coming to see that prisoners have their rights as well as their duties, and that, if the State is to develop the sense of justice in the defective classes, it must be just itself. An interesting illustration of this appears in the questions proposed for discussion at the next International Prison Congress by the International Commission which has just closed its sessions at Berne. In various countries of Europe there exist laws for the indemnification of workmen who are injured while following their

callings. And now the question arises whether prisoners who are likewise injured from accidents incident to penal labor shall not receive indemnity from the State. In an earlier age, in which the horrors suggested by the chamber of tortures at Nuremberg were possible, such a question would have been impossible. It cannot arise, either, where the State falls back on its absolute sovereignty and regards the prisoner as having forfeited all rights and as virtually a slave. Such a question can arise only when it is recognized that the State may be both just and generous even to its delinquent classes, and when the object of imprisonment is to reform the prisoner rather than to impose suffering.

Another ethical aspect of the programme adopted by the same Commission was the question how to prevent and how to treat tuberculosis in prison. Under the old conception of punishment, illness was regarded as a very natural and proper consequence of imprisonment, and conditions were adjusted rather to promote than to prevent it, as the damp, dark, and unventilated dungeons of Rothenburg and the Mamertine prison testify. To-day the sentence of death in some countries has been abolished, and in all civilized countries where it is practiced it is legal only as the result of a judicial process and a special sentence; it is no longer lawful to make the deprivation of liberty an excuse for the deprivation of health. But health and liberty go so naturally together that it has been found difficult to maintain health under protracted confinement. There still exist too many damp and dark prisons, of which Sing Sing is an illustration, breeding tuberculosis at a frightful rate. This disease, which can be combated only with sunlight and fresh air, gives a new aspect to the question of outdoor labor for prisoners, also placed on its list of themes by the International Prison Commission. That the economic aspects of the question are important is seen in the action of three or four of the Southern States in buying farms for penal labor, and in propositions and experiments at the North concerning the employment of the jail population on public roads and works. The direct revenue from the product of such labor is of less importance than the moral

value of useful industry and the prevention of tuberculosis, through which prisoners become a burden upon the State and a menace to the health of the community.



The Natural Order

Among the many admirable things which M. Charles Wagner has said bearing upon the personal life, few have a wider application, or make a more direct appeal to a greater number of persons, than his very simple solution of the problem of conflicting duties. "Each person's base of operations is the field of his immediate duty. Neglect this field, and all you undertake at a distance is compromised. First, then, be of your own country, your own city, your own home, your own church, your own workshop; then, if you can, set out from this to go beyond it. That is the plain and natural order. . . . Many people employ their time in all sorts of affairs, except those in which we have a right to demand it. Each is occupied with something else than what concerns him, is absent from his post, ignores his trade; this is what complicates life."

These few direct, plain words contain a world of wisdom for that vast group of restless, detached, and wandering minds who fancy that they have drained the civilization in which they live of its power of inspiration and instruction; that they have gotten out of the churches to which they belong all that those churches have to give of religious insight and religious energy; that they have outgrown the civilization in which they were born, and are seeking at the ends of the earth for they know not what—vainly striving to discover at a distance what can never be found except at home. We ought all to be citizens of the world; to travel beyond the mountains, to look into other men's faces, to know what other men think, to enter into the experiences of men on the other side of the globe; but, in order to do this, we must first take into ourselves and thoroughly assimilate what our own life has to offer us. If there be among us any one who has really gotten out of Christianity all that Christianity has to give, that man has a perfect right to accept some other form of religion; but when he does it, it will be noted that

he will always speak with reverence and love of the way by which he has come. If there is any one among us who has gone to the depths of the spiritual possibilities of American life, has mastered its secrets, and entered into it with profound and passionate sympathy, he has a right, if he chooses, to detach himself from it and attempt to live the life of some other race; but when one measures what American life is, not in its turbulence, its rush, its lack of harmony in manners, ideals, and expression of every sort, but in its fundamental processes, it is doubtful if a man lives who has the compass of soul to comprehend it in such a way as to drain it of all it has to give him and be free to ally himself with some other civilization. It is noticeable that most of the men and women who are wandering about the

world without nationality and without religion do not give the impression of any profound intellectual or spiritual life, and are very far from convincing their most candid critics that they have exhausted the religion and the civilization they have given up, or that they really understand the religions and the civilizations they are trying to take on. The whole world is before us from which to choose the best; but we must choose, we cannot take everything. He who takes everything gets nothing; and we must begin at home and exhaust the possibilities of home education before we seek afar those ripe fruits of knowledge which are grown in the soul when knowledge passes on into wisdom. Knowledge comes sometimes by wandering; wisdom ripens in quietness and repose.

A Woman's Visit to the Coal Fields

By Alice K. Fallows

Miss Fallows, the author of this article, has just made a tour through the mining regions of Pennsylvania with her father, Bishop Fallows, of the Reformed Episcopal Church. Miss Fallows's sketch, although brief, is of timely value, since it records the observations in the coal fields of a visitor on whom domestic disorder would be likely to make a vivid impression. It must be remembered, however, that her experience is quite dissimilar from that of some other observers.—THE EDITORS.

A CAUTIOUS guard a while ago, according to a story just now popular among the miners, saw the ringleaders of a mob coming over a culm pile. Word was sent post-haste to General Gobin. "Protect the camp at all hazards," was his dramatic answer. A detachment moved out obediently, with elaborate caution, to take the enemy in the rear, and found—two small breaker-boys looking with all their interested eyes at the uniforms and brass buttons of the soldiers below. That was the beginning and the end. But an unduly sensational reporter, who saw the detachment marched out, served up to the public the next morning a "riot story" of the first magnitude.

No one with the full quota of senses can deny that there have been serious disturbances in the anthracite region since the strike began, and friends and critics of the miners alike must deplore and condemn whatever violence has occurred. But after a week spent in making a com-

plete circuit of the hard-coal districts, I am inclined to think that many charges against the miners would bear sifting no better than the General Gobin story. I should not like to vouch for its accuracy, but, judging by my own experience, I have no doubt that as wide a discrepancy might easily exist between what actually happened and what the public believed had happened.

When I was leaving for Philadelphia to join the rest of the party, the question of baggage came up. "Well," advised one of my friends, "don't take anything you can't pick up and run with for your life." It was my idea, too (I had serious thoughts of making my will), and it is the idea, I suppose, of most of those whose coal region is the coal region of the newspapers. Yet the only time I really needed to hasten my footsteps throughout the entire seven days of our stay there was when a mine mule, enjoying its first vacation above ground, thrust an inquisitive nose over the fence to investigate my presence.

During our first afternoon in the coal country we investigated several of the mining towns near Pottsville. Quiet reigned throughout them. A few men lingered about in small groups, sitting on the steps of a deserted store, or leaning up against a convenient wall. We saw also a saloon, with a sign in six languages—empty. On the outskirts of the towns miners were lying at full length under the trees of the public square, sitting on their own doorsteps, mending their fences, digging potatoes, or in some other peaceful way keeping all the ten commandments at once.

"But where were the mobs?" asked one of the party, on the way back; and when we said our final good-bys to the anthracite district, we echoed the same question. Accounts of disturbances were in the city papers, as usual, but they were like Charles Kingsley's water-babies and little Tom, always where we were not.

An omission of the storm-centers would have made the result less surprising, but our schedule included them all. At Mahoney City, which is one of the worst of the mining towns for quick impressions and sudden conclusions, we thought we had caught a riot in the act of brewing. Our train arrived about eight o'clock at night, and between the station and the hotel the streets were alive with miners. They were huddled together on dark corners and stretched in irregular lines along the curbs. Throughout the crowd were the excitement and tension that might precede a stampede of cattle on a Western ranch.

"This must be a dangerous town to live in," I remarked to a daughter of one of the citizens.

She smiled an undisturbed smile and shook her head. "I have been visiting in Philadelphia," she answered, "and I thought from what I read that I should have to go to market with a bowie-knife and a pistol, but I might have been at a Sunday-school picnic for all the trouble I have had, and they assure me the town was no different when I was away."

In one of the stores where we went for soda and a different point of view, the clerk, from his vantage of experience, made practically the same comment. "There's precious little trouble when you get right down to it," he told us. "It's Shenan-

doah's worked 'em up to-night. Something's doing over there."

Something was! We heard of it afterwards from the union man who had been struggling with the long-distance telephone.

The next morning Mahoney City was as quiet as a church, and we left the miners applying for aid at the union center as placidly as cows come to the bars for salt. When we arrived in Shenandoah we heard the details of the excitement which we had felt throbbing through the crowd at Mahoney City. It would have been material for a comedy if comedy and the coal strike had not been such æons apart. Seven deputies, part of a troop of cavalry, and part of a troop of infantry, had with great valor arrested three men for picking coal out of a deserted coal-mine. The embodied protest of several hundred miners made the disturbance, quickly calmed when the prisoners were released on their own bail.

The Shenandoah mob we missed by just about eighteen hours, but we saw, nevertheless, two crowds of strikers in our anthracite pilgrimage worthy of the definition. One of them was a local organization of Italians, whose members had marched six miles in a drizzling rain to christen an American flag. They had ordered it made in Italy before the strike began; it cost them two hundred and fifty dollars, and they christened it in a close little lodge-room, with a blackboard list of "scabs" as an ominous background.

The other crowd was an out-of-door mass-meeting of seven thousand miners and their families, who gathered at Dickson City to hear what President Mitchell had to say. Italians, Greeks, Slavs, Hungarians, and most of the other nationalities of the earth, were gathered helter-skelter in the great shifting circle of humanity about the speaker's platform. They cheered for President Mitchell; they listened attentively to his strong plea for law and order; and their approval broke loose when he announced that the strike should not be ended without their consent.

It is never safe, of course, to take the composite enthusiasm of the many as the sober conclusions of the individual, particularly in so vital a matter as the present attitude of the strikers towards the

strike. As evidence, the assent of the mass-meeting to continue the fight must be counted out. Far more trustworthy, I think, were the observations made by one of the party who mingled unofficially with the crowd and listened to their comments. From these we gathered that the men were still strong for the strike, and the women, on whom the heaviest burden falls, even more determined.

Conjecture is busy enough with what the strikers really think. "They would go back to work like sheep if they had protection," is the belief of the operators; "They are firmer than ever," Mr. Mitchell's. The miners may follow Paul's advice to be all things to all men, literally. They may tell the company one thing and the union another. Perhaps the wives of their bosoms know the truth, though they might make trouble by telling it to their next-door neighbors. I rather think the confessional only gets the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and its secrets are locked. Certainly in seven days a stranger could not get an aggregation of frank opinions large enough to be convincing.

The condition of the mining regions is easier to determine, dependent as it is only on the perfection of one's eyesight. "A state of anarchy" has been one of the gravest charges against the anthracite district. If so, it is the mildest state of anarchy I have ever imagined. In the forty towns we visited business was moving along without interruption or interference, outwardly at least. In one place where we stopped a while, a man whose frayed necktie and shabby clothes showed a receding grip on "better days" walked up to the carriage. He had a little office for life insurance across the street, and we asked him how the strike was affecting him.

"Well," he answered, "I was building up a very pretty little business, but if the strike lasts three weeks longer I'll go to the wall." His voice was quiet, but it quivered a little, and I noticed that the knuckles of his hand were white with the tenseness of his grip on the carriage door.

How many such tragedies of a business career the strike is responsible for, who can tell?

A half-wrecked porch in a certain village told us the tale of a "scab,"

and dynamite. It had figured largely under scare-heads in the newspapers. The harm done was small enough, but I could find no room in a free-born American conscience to excuse the intention. It was wrong, and no amount of winking could make it right. But I am not sure, at all, that the union was responsible. It is holding in check some of the hottest-tempered men on record. Impartial authorities who have known many strikes say that, considering the length of time and the number of men involved, this strike is one of the quietest that ever happened. Neither are the faults on one side. Primitive methods of revenge come easily to foreigners. We were discussing taking a certain trolley one afternoon, when our union escort suggested politely that we take an earlier one. "The next carries home a lot of 'scabs,' he explained, "and they'd throw me off." In a city paper the other day the murder of a non-union miner by a union striker took up all the headlines and half a column. Tucked into two lines near the bottom of the page was the fact that a non-union miner had killed a union striker. I do not offer these incidents under any mistaken impression that two wrongs make a right, but simply as an indication that there may be two sides even to the violence of the strikers, and that fair play must see them both.

As to the immediate want and desolation, judging by the appearance of families in the best quarters and the worst all over the districts, hunger, with the present amount of relief, will not be the whip that drives the strikers back to work.

In the village where we stopped, it is true, a woman, in response to a question about the strike, replied emphatically:

"Sure, we'll fight it out; we might as well starve striking as working." The effect of her words was marred somewhat by her amply well-fed appearance, a brown-paper package under one arm and a fat cabbage under the other.

Much more honest was the reply of an Italian standing in the doorway of his wretched apology for a home.

"I don'ta like," he said, mournfully. "I lika better strika settly."

It is the universal sentiment of America. How it shall be settled is the only rock of division.

Among the Doukhobors

By Felix Ingold

MY little school-house in northern Assiniboia, where I was teaching Indian children under the direction of the Canadian Government, was situated near several Doukhobor villages; and as it was on a road on which the Doukhobors often traveled on their frequent visits to one another, I had unusual opportunities of seeing these strange people, who came from Russia and Galicia several years ago, to the number of three or four thousand. They would occasionally, in their journeyings back and forth, pass my place about noon, and would come in and ask permission to rest and for something to eat. As I was "boarding" myself, in a little shanty adjoining the school-house, I was prepared to offer hospitality to them, such as it was. To the Doukhobor, as with most Russians, tea is a necessity; and this I made for them or permitted them to make. Butter and syrup were luxuries for which they were especially grateful, although some of them would not use the butter internally. The syrup, however, they would have drank down by the cupful if I could have afforded it. They often brought their own bread with them. One of the few English words they know is "grease," and upon my offering them any food, bread for instance, they would look at it suspiciously and inquire, "Grease?" They were afraid that lard or tallow might have been used in making the bread, and if so they would not eat it. Some of the Indians do not care to have the Doukhobors visit them, as they are regarded as "queer," and I have seen a Cree Indian wave an approaching Doukhobor away by holding up a piece of bannock in front of his tent with a deprecating gesture and the word "Grease!" In their own homes they live principally on vegetable soup, made of potatoes, onions, and water. A big panful of soup is placed on the table, and each Doukhobor takes out from his pocket a wooden spoon, and all fall to dipping simultaneously, each with his own spoon, out of the pan. The eyes of some of our city

"vegetarians" would open in wonder and alarm at their strict interpretation of the injunction, Thou shalt eat no flesh. For the stricter ones not only refuse to eat bread which contains shortening, but will not deprive their cows of milk, saying that it would be a sin to take their natural food away from the calves. Eggs also are taboo for them. On Sunday, as a special treat, they have pancakes made of flour and water. Of course, when they are sick, a more nourishing diet is permitted. Often, too, when they are away from home they allow themselves a more liberal diet.

Assiniboia, like most northern countries, is during certain seasons sadly afflicted with mosquitoes. Some of the Doukhobors carry their strange Brahmanical reverence for all forms of life to such an extent that they will not kill even a mosquito. However, they do not feel so much tenderness toward their friend the mosquito as to be willing to sacrifice themselves in order to feed him—probably considering that the mosquito ought, like the Doukhobor, to confine himself strictly to a vegetable diet. So on their journeyings in the mosquito season some of these Doukhobors carry a portable "smudge" with them. This, consisting of a little vessel of burning charcoal covered with clay and grass, and held by a string, makes a dense smoke, and they will swing it along as they walk, remaining within the protecting halo. Another rather interesting example of the Doukhobors' regard for the rights of animals is found in their treatment of their horses. They are fond of fine horses and raise most excellent stock. They take the greatest care of these animals, and prize especially the mares. A fine filly will sometimes bring as much as a hundred and twenty-five dollars, which was the sum asked by one of the men for a two-year-old that took my fancy. This is a large sum to them, and they ask even higher prices for some of the mares. The stallions, however, they will sell for a mere song, sometimes a fine young colt going for as little

as five dollars. They sell all the male colts except those they wish to retain for breeding purposes.

The sailor's saying is that God first created sailors, then dogs, then soldiers. The Doukhobor, it would seem, might vary this by saying that God first created men, then horses, then women. For among them the women do much of the work which is usually allotted to horses. The Doukhobors say that the horse has as much right to follow his own will as a man has, and they try to put the principle into practice. Consequently the horses are well taken care of and have a very easy time. The women themselves are sometimes harnessed to the plow, and I have a photograph of fourteen women harnessed in rude fashion to a single plow, a stout Doukhobor turning the tough sod behind them. Sometimes, if the field is far distant from the little clump of houses where the Doukhobors live, they will have the horses drag the plow along the road to the field, where the women will take their place and do the hard work. The men, however, frequently get into the harness themselves and draw their wagons to and from town for supplies—that is, the industrious ones; for there are some lazy Doukhobors, who spend much of their time in visiting. As guests they are not required to work.

The houses of the Doukhobors are another evidence of the women's industrial skill. They are well and strongly built of logs, this heavy work being done by the men; but the plastering is done by the women. They make a thick, tenacious plaster and cover the houses with it, both inside and out. This gives the houses an appearance of solidity and durability, and makes them well adapted for resisting the cold of the very severe Assiniboian winters. When I required some plastering done for my school-house, I sent to the Doukhobor village and hired some of their women to do the work. They worked from sunrise to sunset, and did their work thoroughly and well. In many of the houses are to be seen large earthen stoves on which, after the Russian fashion, the family sleep in extremely cold weather. The families of the Doukhobors in Assiniboia are not large, unlike pioneers' families generally, and while the peculiar social customs of these people

may possibly be responsible for this, the extremely hard work done by the women in helping to found homes in the new country may also account for the fact. The women are very neat in appearance, their white aprons and kerchiefs being kept immaculate when they are in their houses, though of course these garments suffer from the outdoor work. They are tender-hearted and their feelings are easily touched; when I showed one of them a picture of my mother, and indicated that she was far away, the Doukhobor woman's eyes filled with sympathetic tears, as did also those of the daughter of an old Doukhobor woman for whom, when the two stopped at the school-house to rest on a very cold day, I got a hot brick for the purpose of warming her half-frozen feet.

The Doukhobors are to a certain extent communists. The village property is owned in common, as also are the stock and implements. Certain personal possessions, however, are not regarded as common; but a Doukhobor has no hesitation in asking another for any article to which he takes a fancy. If, for instance, he sees a nice pair of shoes in a fellow-Doukhobor's house, or a good coat, he will ask for them, and a good Doukhobor will give to him that asketh. When they stopped at my house, this habit was manifested. One of them once asked me very politely, by signs and broken words, for a pair of rubbers. On my explaining that I needed them myself, the Doukhobor acquiesced and let the matter drop. Horses, of course, are communal property, but the Doukhobors are shrewd enough to ask good prices for their stock from outsiders. Up to within a short time they seem to have prospered, and many of them are said to have money and to keep it in the banks in the towns rather than in a stocking or an old teapot, as is sometimes done further south. It must be understood that many of the Doukhobors have fallen away from the strict observances of the sect. There is much individuality among them in regard to their practices. The recent exhibitions of fanaticism are perhaps in the nature of a "revival," bringing back the recreant ones to the standards of the orthodox, and carrying these to still further extremes.

The religion of the Doukhobors is a

strange admixture of Greek Catholicism, mysticism, and Tolstoyism. They practice non-resistance, and are Anarchistic to the extent of believing organized government to be wrong. The men are the more devout church-goers, the women not being encouraged to attend the church services, and finding, indeed, that their household duties on Sunday after their outdoor work during the week require their time, and they attend to them while the men go to church. They are very fond of singing, and on one occasion when I stopped over night in one of the Doukhobors' houses, I had a favorable opportunity of hearing some of their strange songs. The Doukhobors go to bed very early, almost with the chickens, and on the occasion I speak of my companion and I were dismissed after our frugal supper, consisting of bread and soup, to the guest-room. Most of the Doukhobor houses are occupied by two families and divided into two rooms. In one of these one of the married couples rest; in the other the other couple and the children of both families sleep. Into one of these rooms,

as I say, we were sent early in the evening, a large iron lamp serving to light our apartment. The Doukhobors went outside a little distance from the house and there sang a number of songs, possibly for our benefit and certainly very much to our edification. They sing a strange, pathetic music which has apparently come down from remote generations—a sort of Gregorian chant, in three parts, which at times is weirdly beautiful.

In conclusion, I may tell of one incident that will specially interest Outlook readers. Some months ago a friend sent to me, to cheer my loneliness in that far-away Assiniboian school-house, a copy of The Outlook containing an article about Tolstoi and a recent portrait of the great Russian reformer. A bright Doukhobor boy happening to come in to see me on his way to the little village a mile or two beyond, I showed him the portrait and said, "Tolstoi." His eyes gazed reverently at the face, and with deep feeling he said, in his broken way, meaning, I suppose, to let me know how greatly he revered Tolstoi, "That is my—my God."

Memories of a Hundred Years'

By Edward Everett Hale

XIV.

A REVIEW

HERE is the conclusion of the whole matter.

1901 found the United States another Nation from what 1800 left it.

In 1901 no man in his senses, who knew anything, would have consented to live as his grandfather lived a hundred years before.

The victories won over the "unconscious forces" were such that in 1901 the average man in an American city was a thousand times as strong, or had a thousand times as much physical power at his command, as the average man had a century before.

This means that in the United States, as the century went on, God and Man worked together as they had never worked before in the history of the world.

And as a consequence, man with man worked together as they had never done before.

1. Open promotion for every child born into the world asserted itself as never before.

2. To every man it was gradually made clear that he was a Son of God, and, if he chose, could partake of the Divine nature. Men who can borrow omnipotence are not apt to fail.

The advance thus made in the three Eternities, in Faith, Hope, and Love, accounts for the advance, which has been infinite, in civilization. To work with God, to live in heaven, to work together and not separately, these laws, or habits, or systems—these are all. And All is enough.

1. Open promotion for each and all comes with universal suffrage and general education.

Old John Adams, when he was making

¹ Copyright, 1901, the Outlook Company.

the Constitution of Massachusetts, said that he meant that every boy and girl born in Massachusetts should receive a liberal education. He did not mean that they should learn to read Latin badly and write Latin badly. He did mean that they should speak and understand the language of their time. "If they were diligent in their business, they would stand before kings." And no matter who the kings asked to meet them, John Adams meant that the sons and daughters of Massachusetts should be able to hold their own in the conversation. He meant that they should speak English and understand English as well as any man in any place. And he meant that there should be no "village Hampdens" or "inglorious Miltons." He meant that if Abraham Lincoln, born in a log cabin, among the poorest and, if you please, the meanest of mankind, should be the man needed in the advance of the country, he should have the education which the duty demanded. The country has not gained this yet, which John Adams asked for Massachusetts. But we are on the way toward it. When you see a class of boys entering at New Haven, or a class of girls at Northampton, you see that the country insists that, as God lives, they shall have the best. Open promotion for all.

2. To every man it has been made clear that God is on his side, that God is his Father, and he is God's child. This was not clear in 1801. It is in the changes in the spiritual life of men up to 1901 that you have the secret of that advance in vital power which accounts for the advance in physical resources. This accounts for the enlargement of all men's plans and possibilities. It explains so far the reasons why the world of 1901 is a better world to live in than the world of 1801. Even the faithful Christian of the beginning of the century was harrowed and haunted by his feeling that God was angry with the world which he had made, and might well be sorry that he had placed any men or women in it. To speak simply, men were tangled up in every effort to get forward by the twisted stems of their fathers' theology. It was like a man stumbling and sometimes falling in woodland when he catches his feet in greenbrier or moosewood.

I remember as late as the forties, when

I was talking with an enthusiastic girl well up in her "Five Points" of Calvin, that she cried out, "I trust the People: the People is always right." I said, wickedly, "How can you say that, when you believe that, of nature, all of the People are totally depraved and incapable of good?" Poor girl! To this hour I remember the pathetic reproach of her reply—her despair that the old theology would not even permit her to be a patriot.

There are enough of the sermons of 1801 in print for any one who chooses to make a guess as to what the so-called religion of America was. So far as theology went, the preachers taught all hearers that they were born totally depraved and incapable of good. But it is fair now to say that no pulpit in America ever dared to make this announcement "last Sunday," whatever that Sunday may be to the reader of these lines. Again, if the reader will struggle with a hundred or two of these sermons of 1801 or thereabouts, he will find that the appeal in them is an appeal to the individual sinner. He must reform his ways. But at the present moment whoever will read in the morning paper, in New York or in Boston or Chicago, the appeals of the pulpit on the day before, will find no such thing. He finds a determination on the part of the preacher of religion that the kingdom of God shall come.

Stated very simply, it would be fair to say that the real religion of to-day is the religion of the Lord's Prayer. On the other hand, the religion which asserted itself in pulpits a hundred years ago was the hard and bitter conclusion which John Calvin had arrived at. It ought to be said in his defense that his conclusions were arrived at after a half-century of war, at a period when it seemed to men, indeed, as if the kingdom of heaven on earth was as impossible as he thought it to be. Now, let the reader try to fancy what was the position a hundred years ago, say of a chaplain in a jail, if there were any such person. How much or how little did that man believe that his ministrations with the prisoners achieved anything? Or imagine yourself going into a fight with Tammany, and having to rely upon a body of people in New York of whom you knew that nineteen-twentieths were children of the devil who could not

be regenerate. If you really try to put yourself in the place of your great-grandfather, you will not wonder that the religious world of to-day is more cheerful and courageous than was his. Simply, if you know you are a child of God, as you do, if you know that God works in you when you try to will and do of his good pleasure—and this you do know now—the world is a very different world from what it was when you were told once a week that you were the child of the devil.

It is perhaps true that a few old gentlemen try to persuade themselves that for a few years more they may stammer out some old-fashioned sentences which defame God in despising man. But, really, the world of the new century, whether on the throne of the Pope or in the appeal of the come-outer, owns God as our Father, knows he is at hand, and asks him for everything.

We must take care, then, not to regard the American Revolution as simply a change in the political relations of America. The war of the Revolution was the doom of Calvinism. Philosophically speaking, it would perhaps be enough to say that if men have equal rights on earth, they must have equal rights to heaven. Practically speaking, the same thing was asserted when every man was compelled to take his gun on his shoulder and go out and fight King George. If you swept the Connecticut Valley, as in 1777 you did, of every boy and man from fifteen years of age to fifty-five, to go out and "to fight Burgine," you could not say to those men and boys, when they came back, that they were all incapable of good and that nineteen twentieths of them would certainly be damned. Or, if you said it, you almost knew that they would not believe you any longer.¹

Without people's knowing it, therefore, Universal Suffrage came in. The separate steps to it were considered so unimportant that it would be difficult now to write the history. Almost everywhere the local governments originally demanded a small property qualification for the vote, though from the beginning no such qualification was exacted anywhere in ecclesiastical

affairs. But this demand dropped out, more from the inconvenience of the property qualification than from any very eager protest. To this hour, the distinction between a property qualification and universal suffrage seems to theorists of great importance. But in America practically nine-tenths of the voters are men of property.¹

When you thus create a pure democracy in what you call affairs of state, you cannot maintain an aristocracy or hierarchy in what you call the affairs of religion.

And here are the fundamental causes of the bleakness and imbecility of what people would call the religious literature of the quarter-century which follows the Revolution. Preachers certainly felt that anything they had to say on the old lines did not much interest a people who were discussing the most important principles of social order, and by the results of such discussion were organizing their civil communities.

For the religious revolution implied in this change, between 1801 and 1901, it is impossible to give credit to any one man, or any ten men, or any hundred men. The advance is an advance all along the line. We owe a great deal to the Methodist revival, which has met no check in America since the great days of Whitefield. We owe a great deal to the Swedenborgian, or the New Church. America owes a great deal to Murray and Ballou and the Universalists in the East, and to Campbell and the other movers in the West. The Congregational Church, both Evangelical and Unitarian, was really renewed by such prophets as Emerson and Channing, Bushnell and the Beechers. And the whole English-speaking world of every communion, that of the Church of Rome included, has been inspirited by James Martineau.

Meanwhile the People governed itself, as it should do in a democracy. Quite outside the chatter and clatter of what is called Politics, quite outside of administrations and debates, and bills passed to the third reading, and appointments to office, the People was taking care of its own interests. It took care of them in

¹The Frenchman Chastellux was in America two or three years with Rochambeau. He says squarely that in his frequent travels back and forth from Newport to southern Virginia he never met a man of fighting age who had not served against the King. Whether he wanted to or not, he had to serve.

¹Thus, in the Cleveland-Harrison election more individual men paid taxes on their property in Massachusetts than voted for all the candidates for the Presidency.

such gigantic movements as those which multiplied the exports of cotton from eight bags in 1784 to two million and a half bales in 1850; in such movements as sent steamboats up into the fountain streams of rivers till they were leaving their passengers and their freight in creeks where they could not turn round; and in such enterprises at sea as the fur trade of the Northwest, with the correlative commerce of India, and the whale-fishery which "whitened with its sails" all oceans.¹

The original and independent work in the realms of education and religion was of equal importance or more, and, as I have implied, there is no coherent study of the century which does not recognize as fundamental the changes wrought in the education of the hearts and minds and souls of men. An entire revolution had been wrought in such education by the American Revolution and what followed.

LIMITATIONS AND SELECTIONS

I have been frank with the reader. I have invited him to look through my own keyhole upon this landscape of a hundred years' horizon. He must understand, I think, that through one keyhole you cannot see the whole.

And even where my own personal recollections would have helped me—or the stores of manuscript and of pamphlet and scrap-book here in this home where I write—still it has been better to select only a few of the miracles of the century, or of its misfortunes, or of the lives of a few of its charlatans and a few of its leaders, than to nibble at every cake in the cake-box.

I was once asked to furnish in two thousand words a sketch of the literature of these same hundred years. It was intimated to me that it would be well if I gave some account of each of the leading authors of the several years as they passed, telling the reader who were the fashionable authors of their time. I had to begin, therefore, by classifying America, England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Russia, eight nations, and selecting the new authors whom people talked about in each year. With relent-

less hand, I cut down the list and averaged them at three in a year. Were it America in 1902, and I could trust the advertising sheets of the magazines for which I was to write, there would have been fifty in a month. Now, three authors × by 8 nations, × again by 100 years, gave two thousand four hundred authors! Alas! while "John Wolfgang von Goethe" could be expressed in four words, many of the authors needed more and few were satisfied with less. If, therefore, I filled the order, with an average of three words for each of my two thousand four hundred names—where were the criticism and narration to come in?

Warned by this experiment, I have preferred to take a few incidents, men, and eras, and bravely and frankly to leave the rest for other pens and other memories. Hardest trial of all—where my own pen, or the more legible handwriting of others, has written out the chapter, Atropos with stern scissors has cut out the pages—and this reader will never—never know what he has lost! "No one knows," says dear Bishop Whately, who is, by the way, one of the omitted heroes of the century, "what good things you have left out."

So it is that the reader will find in these *Memories of a Century* nothing of the great epidemics but what is on this page—almost nothing of the French War, with which the century began—nothing of the Mexican, or Spanish, or many Indian wars—next to nothing of the marvels of science, photographs, anæsthetics, correlation of forces, and all that have sprung from the new discoveries. There is nothing of the great missionary enterprises, nothing of temperance, of prison reform, of the organization of churches or of charities. We discovered a continent and we entered Alaska, of which there is nothing here. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, distracting the politicians—the Federalist party dying—the "Know-Nothing" movement living and dying—ah, there were many such all-important catastrophes of which nothing is said here! The treaties of Ghent, of Paris, of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, and Paris again, and so many other treaties, and nothing about them. Cherokees and Seminoles, treaties "which should stand as long as the rivers

¹ Burke's fine phrase in which he says that the sails of the Nantucket fishermen "whitened both oceans" means the northern and southern Atlantic. Not many years after, the first Nantucket ship passed Cape Horn.

run," nothing about them! Oregon and the Columbia River, and California and its gold, Montana and its silver!—nothing! These and as many more wonders, each of them worth a volume, have not been noticed here.

THE LAST CHAPTER

I am told that a certain arrogance sometimes expresses itself in my writing. For this I apologize. But I do not believe that I could have contrived for myself a better ending for the marvelous century than came to me. I am pleased to see that people begin to call our century the wonderful century, as Dryden called the year of the three sixes "*annus mirabilis*." All centuries in their time have been called so, and this has the capital stock of all the others to bank upon and to trade with. For

"Nature always gives us more
Than all she ever takes away."

A year before the end there had been one of the time-honored discussions whether the century ended with the year 1899 or not. But now almost everybody had acquiesced in the proposition that no possible way of arranging, piling, or counting ninety-nine cents made them into a dollar. And it seems to me that the little world of literature, certainly the lesser world of companionship, accepted the end of the century with a certain seriousness which was encouraging. This was satisfactory.

The French had invented, many years before, the phrase "*fin du siècle*," and applied it to everything that was lawless, or without principle, or outside of conventionality—a sort of "devil take the hindmost" farewell to the nineteenth century. But that phrase does not fairly express the feeling which thoughtful men and women had towards their old friend. For twenty years there had been Twentieth Century Clubs among the people who tried to be in the advance. The oldest which I know is the Twentieth Century Club of Philadelphia. In Boston we have had for fourteen years the Twentieth Century Club of men and women, an important practical factor in the business of making people and things face to the front and giving them their marching orders. To belong to this Twentieth Century Club has meant and means that

one hopes the world will be a better world, and that one means to help make it so. Among these clubs there is nothing of the "*fin du siècle*."

For myself, I paid my respects to the end of the century as early as 1885. I was then in the city of Washington, and I was to preach on the Sunday before Mr. Cleveland's inauguration. I foresaw many of the evils which that administration brought upon the country. No prophet could have seen them all. I chose to preach a sermon on the Twentieth Century, and I printed it on my return to Boston. Does it perhaps forecast the altruism of the new century if I say that George Littlefield, my personal friend, set the types and locked up the chases? I believe I never see those printed pages without a pleasant personal thought of him and his labor of love. In that sermon I laid down as the three initial necessities most urgent for the work of the new century with us: first, the uplift of the school system so that it should educate men and boys, and not be satisfied with their instruction; second, the systematic and intelligent transfer, from the crowded regions of the world, of men and women who should live in regions not crowded; third, and necessary for everything else, the institution of a Permanent Tribunal for the nations of the world. I have reprinted the last half of this sermon in a volume of notes of my own autobiography. I speak of it now because it is the first which I happen to remember of the uncounted series of essays which bear its title.

Years before this I had heard Dr. William Dawson, the President of McGill University of Montreal, say of our generation: "What will the future say of us at the end of the nineteenth century?" He said that our men of science had discovered the great principles of Nature's action. Their statement of these principles was as broad and at the same time as definite as Newton's announcement of the Law of Gravitation. And then he said that these same men who had made these discoveries were afraid of their own work. They did not dare use their discoveries for the benefit of mankind! They came to the edge of the ocean, as Newton said; they knew the laws of its breakers and of its ebb and flow, and they did not venture to launch

upon it. They hardly dared to paddle in the spray on the beach.

"Why, these men of the nineteenth century were satisfied with the steam-engine, with the electric telegraph and telephone, with the transformation of the power of a waterfall into the electric current, actually! With such trifles as these they had done enough; they hardly began to use the unconscious powers for the benefit of mankind."

Dawson said this in a Phi Beta Kappa oration at Cambridge. Not many years after I heard our great master of engineering, George Morison, say on a like occasion almost the same thing. Indeed, the Phi Beta oration always gives a good chance for the prophets.

But whatever those backward-looking sons of time may say of us, and whatever Dawson said they ought to say, we have not been dissatisfied with the steps we are taking. Admiral Remey told me the other day that every weapon of offense used in the Spanish war in 1898 has been invented since 1865, unless, he said, with a smile, one excepts the dress sword of the officer. This can hardly be called a weapon of offense. It had won for itself the name of the "toasting-fork" two or three generations before. As we approached the year 1892, the preparations for celebrating the fourth centennial of Columbus's discovery waked up a new chorus of speculation, now frivolous and now serious, as to the work and worth of the nineteenth century—much more serious than any which have left traces of the revolutionary period a hundred years before.

It ought to do us no harm to remember that in 1791 and 1792 the civilized world, generally speaking, did not appreciate America or the discovery of America very highly. On this side of the water nobody had any doubts. Every American from Sam Adams or Thomas Jefferson downward was sure that America was God's choicest gift to man. You would not find a wood-chopper clearing his homestead by the Monongahela River, not six months from Germany himself, but would tell the passing traveler that America was the greatest country in the world, and very likely he would add that the capital of this country would probably be on his clearing. Nothing is more

amusing than the rage which French and English travelers of that prehistoric time express when they hear such bragging in the midst of squalor and destitution. For on the other side of the ocean none but fanatics had any such notion. There is a little poem in which Soame Jenyns, a Tory poet, describes the eagerness with which the enfranchised colonists, like so many runaway colts, would come back to beg for the protection of their great and good sovereign George III.

AMERICA

ADDRESSED TO THE REV. DEAN TUCKER

Crown'd be the man with lasting praise
Who first contriv'd the pin
To loose mad horses from the chaise,
And save the necks within.

See how they prance, and bound, and skip,
And all controul disdain!
They bid defiance to the whip,
And tear the silken rein.

Awhile we try if art or strength
Are able to prevail;
But, hopeless, when we find at length
That all our efforts fail,

With ready foot the spring we press,
Out jumps the magic plug,
Then, disengag'd from all distress,
We sit quite safe and snug.

The pampered steeds, their freedom gain'd,
Run off full speed together;
But, having no plan ascertain'd,
They run they know not whither.

Boys, who love mischief and a course,
Enjoying the disaster,
Bawl, Stop 'em! stop 'em! till they're hoarse,
But mean to drive them faster.

Each claiming now his nat'ral right,
Scorns to obey his brother;
So they proceed to kick and bite,
And worry one another.

Hungry at last, and blind, and lame,
Bleeding at nose and eyes;
By sufferings grown extremely tame,
And by experience wise,

With bellies full of liberty,
But void of oats and hay,
They both sneak back, their folly see,
And run no more away.

Let all who view th' instructive scene,
And patronize the plan,
Give thanks to Glo'ster's honest Dean,
For, TUCKER, thou'rt the man!

The opinion or the sentiment of all classes of literary men as to the worth of America was tested in 1792 by the

Academy of Lyons. I have referred to it in the first number of these papers. The Abbé Genty, a man now almost wholly forgotten, but who was then the Government's censor of literature, received the prize, as I have said. He had the sense to foresee the advantage which came to the world when, as Carlyle said, democracy began its march around the world. But the other writers, whose papers have been preserved, made but a poor show. They had to admit that the wars which were born from American politics had been disastrous to Europe; they supposed that some diseases had been imported from America. They did not know enough of political science to understand how it was that the ceaseless flow of gold and silver into Europe reduced the purchasing power of coin so that for three centuries money debts had generally been paid in a currency of less value than that of the time in which they were contracted. But they did understand that something bothered commerce and mercantile affairs and kept them in wild ferment which they did not comprehend. Even Franklin, in his common-sense way, says that he has observed that sugar is always dearer in nations which have sugar colonies than in nations which have none.

The physical goods which came from America were thus reduced to Jesuits' bark and potatoes. I think none of those competitors for the Lyons prize had the grace to be thankful to us, even for tobacco.

But in 1892 all this was changed. Indeed, as early as January, 1860, the porter who carried my valise to the steamship at Queenstown in Ireland fairly apologized to me that he had not gone to America himself long before. He wanted me to understand that, speaking generally, he knew that every man in Ireland who was not an idiot did go as soon as he could. At this moment in which I am writing, when more than two thousand people from Europe arrive here every day, it is clear enough that Europe now has learned the lesson of the danger of crowds and the value of deserts. As I once heard William Evarts say, the German farmer in Illinois is no better man than his twin brother whom he left in Prussia: the difference between the Illinois farmer and his brother

is that he does not have to carry a soldier on his back.

Yes, there is a great advantage in having white paper to write upon, and every day of every year of the century has been teaching this to America.

THE EVENING AND THE MORNING

As I have said, for me personally the century ended in a most dramatic way.

Two centuries before, on the first of January, 1701, dear old Samuel Sewall, the same who hanged the witches and repented of it so pathetically, determined that Boston should pay its compliment to the new century. In his diary for the first day of the month he says:

"Jan^y 1, 1701. Entrance of 18th Century. Just about Break-a-day, Jacob Amsden and 3 other Trumpeters gave a Blast with the Trumpets, on the common, near Mr. Alford's. Then went to the Green Chamber, and sounded there till about sunrise. Bell-man said these verses, [My verses upon New Century], which I printed and gave them."

Mr. Alford's was the highest house, in situation, in Boston. It was where the new State House yard is, near Bowdoin Street.

I was familiar with this interesting memorandum of Sewall's, and, as it proved afterwards, there was an original copy of his broadside in the Antiquarian Library at Worcester, and another in the Boston Library. So, as the end of the century approached, I sent to our friend Mr. Edwin D. Mead, the President of the Twentieth Century Club. Let me say, in passing, that Mr. Mead is everybody's friend, and is one of these people who know how to bring things to pass. So, when anybody in Boston has anything of public spirit to be done, a little out of the common way, instead of doing it himself, he writes a note to Mr. Mead about it, and asks him if he cannot take care of it. You generally find that he has done all that is necessary before your note came.

So I wrote to Mr. Mead. He agreed with me that the twentieth century ought to begin as the eighteenth began, and Governor Crane agreed with him. And he reprinted Sewall's ode, and made the

selections which Moses had written for the purpose, in what men say is the oldest written poem, written I do not know how long before Homer. He arranged with the Handel and Haydn people, and the Cecilia people. Of course he lived at the very top of Boston, close to the State House, and there a few of us assembled as the last hours of the old year ebbed away. Here is the programme which he printed and gave them :

FROM CENTURY TO CENTURY

OBSERVANCE OF THE PASSING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE COMING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, BY THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB AND THE PUBLIC, BEFORE THE STATE HOUSE, BOSTON.

The exercises will begin at quarter of twelve, Monday night, December 31, 1900.

TRUMPETS, FROM STATE HOUSE BALCONY.

HYMN, SUNG BY THE ASSEMBLY.

Be thou, O God, exalted high ;
And as thy glory fills the sky,
So let it be on earth displayed,
Till thou art here as there obeyed.

SELECTIONS FROM THE NINETIETH PSALM, READ BY EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, thou art God.

A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.

The days of our years are threescore years and ten ; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow ; for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.

So teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom.

O satisfy us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

Let thy work appear unto thy servants, and thy glory into their children.

And let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us : and establish thou the work of our hands upon us ; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.

SAMUEL SEWALL'S HYMN, WRITTEN FOR THE OBSERVANCE IN BOSTON OF THE DAWN OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Chorus.

Once more, our God, vouchsafe to shine ;
Tame Thou the rigor of our clime ;
Make haste with Thy impartial light,
And terminate this long, dark night.

Let the transplanted English vine
Spread further still ; still call it thine.
Prune it with skill ; for yield it can
More fruit to Thee, the Husbandman.

The false religions shall decay,
And darkness fly before bright day ;
Till men shall God the Lord adore,
And worship idols vain no more.

So Asia and Africa,
Europa, with America,

All four, in consort joined, shall sing
New songs of praise to God our King.

SILENCE UNTIL THE STROKE OF THE
MIDNIGHT HOUR AND THE SOUND OF THE
TRUMPETS.

THE LORD'S PRAYER, SAID BY ALL THE
PEOPLE.

"AMERICA," SUNG BY THE PEOPLE.

TRUMPETS.

Here are my notes of the next morning, and they shall be the last of these Memories of a Century :

"The boys of the Commonwealth Club came to escort us to the State House, and did. This was quite as well, for the street was crowded with people, and it was with difficulty that the police made way for us into the Governor's room—Mrs. Hale, and E. and I, and Mr. and Mrs. Mead. The Governor was as pleasant as always. We waited till just quarter before twelve, and then worked our way through the crowd, on the balcony, looking down on the State House yard. The balcony had never seen such a company before, for here was a chorus of nearly two hundred voices, selected from the Handel and Haydn and the Cecilia Society.

"A perfect sea of upturned faces was below. The spectacle was magnificent. The State House yard and all the streets, in every direction, were crowded as far as you could see. The lights of the carriages on both sides of the streets stretched off into the dark horizon. The people were too closely crowded to move. Indeed, nobody wanted to move. They were quiet, and absolutely intent on what was going on in our balcony. For me, there were two men with cornets on our right, with only the Governor between, and two on my left. And while they played, I could hear nothing whatever, either from the balcony or from below. All our watches were exactly right. Every one had been careful about that ; and at exactly fifteen minutes before twelve, at an order from the chorus-master, the four trumpets sounded. They played what in camp is called 'taps,' meaning the closing strain for the day. Old soldiers recognized it at once as the fit close of a century. [I had last heard it at Bermuda Hundred, on the 30th of May, 1864.]

[Sewall, the old Chief Justice, called his men trumpeters, and we called ours so. The instruments were, in fact, what are now called "cornets." But I believe they are substantially the same as the trumpets of his time.]

"The playing of taps lasted a few minutes; I think it was followed by a little hand applause. Every one then joined in the first verse of Old Hundred, 'Be Thou, O God, Exalted High!' I say every one, for we had, as I say, a full chorus of two hundred voices. But I do not think that there was a general chorus from below. I only heard the trumpets. I read the appropriate verses from the Ninetieth Psalm. People were still as death. The balcony and people made a good sounding-board. I was in good voice and read very slowly. I have since seen people who were nearly as far as Winter Street who heard me. [I was asked a hundred times if I used a megaphone. But it is simply an illustration of the power of the human voice if the listeners will keep still.] Then the chorus sang two verses of Sewall's hymn. There was time enough and they sang two more. Then another strain from the trumpets, and then a hush,

absolute and very solemn. King's Chapel bell struck twelve very slowly, and between the strokes our trumpets sounded. There were several seconds between the strokes.

"I said the Lord's Prayer, and here I was conscious that other people joined. The trumpets played 'America,' and here people joined in very cordially. I said, 'God bless our city, our State, and our country.' And this was to me as remarkable as anything in it all. People turned almost silently to go home. Indeed, the whole passage of the half-hour had the devout impression of a service at church.

"Looking back upon it I cannot help feeling that it all showed curiously well the serious foundation of the life of our people. I do not think they thought of it as a religious service when they came, but they all did when they went away."

And so I will bid this faithful reader good-by. Some library will preserve this volume of *The Outlook*, and it carries with it my charge to my sons' grandsons, that in *The Outlook* of 2001 one of them shall write his *Memories of the Twentieth Century*.

God's Highest Thought

By Morgan Bates

Morgan Bates, the writer of this article, was born in Albany, N. Y., in 1847, and was the son of a well-known Methodist clergyman who was a prominent abolitionist. Mr. Bates was early attracted towards journalistic work, and was connected with different newspapers in Michigan until 1880, when he joined the editorial staff of the Chicago "News." Later he edited the "Daily Call," Lafayette, Ind. The death of his wife in 1895 was a blow from which he never entirely recovered. He found partial relief, however, in the absorbing work of writing a novel, in which he used very effectively his recollections of the anti-slavery period. This story, "Martin Brook," which was reviewed in *The Outlook* at the time of its publication, revealed Mr. Bates's rare qualities of earnestness, high purpose, devotion to ideals, and great tenderness of nature. He died at Traverse City last winter.—THE EDITORS.

SOMEWHERE within the area of consciousness, before time was, or space defined by boundaries, three souls approached the secret place of the Most High, drawn thither by the Supreme Will.

These souls were thoughts from God, and like Him in their formless purity. They transcended form, for they were harmony; they transcended existence, for they were beings. They were eternal, omniscient, infinite in that degree which makes the thought a part of Him who

uttered the thought, but still a part, leaving the One unchanged; like Him, too, in quality, each in an individual way which, combining in perfect unity with myriad thoughts, and joining with the Creator as the central source, composes the universal Whole.

The first-born of the Divine, nearest Him in essence, awaited the Word.

"Life, Wisdom, and Love," thus spake the Voice, "a new race is ordained. Seek ye that realm wherein henceforth

there shall be space and time, the meaning of which is now to be revealed to you. Within this realm are those like unto Me, even as ye yourselves are like the Author of your being. The purposes of the Almighty none can know save God alone, but it is willed, O Life, that thou shalt be the power that moves these beings of the spirit. To you, O Wisdom, is assigned the work of guiding them aright and always towards the truth. While unto you, O Love, is given the greatest task of all, for thou art the Way. And it shall be written in the heart of Truth that as the day is, so shall thy strength be."

Inborne upon these waiting messengers was the understanding of God's new thought.

Life and Wisdom bowed before the ineffable joys of Heaven, as those who serve in all the dignity of apperception. The consciousness of their own consciousness shone about them in kinship with the glory of their Maker.

The cherubim and seraphim led the celestial hosts in songs of adoration of the boundlessness of God in the unity of concord.

But Love paused at the center of the Light.

"Soul of my inmost Soul," the Voice said softly to the spirit of Love alone. "Gentlest and holiest of My thoughts, the greatest work is thine. All that is must come to Me through you. Life is omnipotence, without which there can be no power. Wisdom is omniscience, without which is no knowledge. But Love is God, without which naught can be; and since I am, Love is the soul of God, infinite even as I am infinite, permeating all and being all; yet there are the infinitude of beings, thoughts from God, each with the message of the One, in which thou dwellest as in Me. Bear now this Divine injunction: Throughout eternity, Love continues."

Love kissed the feet of God and said:
"Thy will be done!"

The Pipes of Autumn

By Clinton Scollard

A thrill as of exuberant will
The rimpling corn-fields know,
As o'er the vale and up the hill
The pipes of Autumn blow.

Across the orchards tremors toss,
And golden ripples run
O'er hillocks where the milkweed's floss
Is shimmering in the sun.

Once more beside the runlet's shore
The violet opes its eyes;
Once more the dandelion's ore
As though May-minted lies.

A-blur with gleamy gossamer
Is every upland lawn;
The woodland, save where glooms the fir,
Is wrapt in dreams of dawn.

Like spring's the last fleet whir of wings,
The last low lyric cry
That down the hazy distance rings
To dip and faint and die.

A thrill takes hold upon the will
And sets the cheeks aglow,
As o'er the vale and up the hill
The pipes of Autumn blow.

Religious Life in America

XIII.—Colorado¹

By Ernest Hamlin Abbott

THE three parts into which places innumerable have been divided since Julius Cæsar wrote his Commentaries have their counterparts in Colorado: the City, the Resort, and the Camp. It is true there is a fourth part, the Ranch, which in certain respects is more important than all the others, for the agricultural products of the State form a larger part of its wealth than its minerals. In comparison to the Ranch, therefore, the City is a dependent, the Resort is a parasite, and the Camp is a poor relation. For our purposes, however, we will assume that all Colorado is divided into three parts.

Those who go from the East to Colorado—whether it is to the City, or to the Resort, or to the Camp—are put to a thorough and very wholesome test as regards both character and religious faith. This test consists in being granted a very great freedom from the conventional standards of morality and religion. A case somewhat parallel is that of the native of southern Italy who emigrates to America. In the country of his birth he is expected by everybody to conform to the observances of the Church. In his adopted country he finds many who conform to the observances of other churches, and some who conform to none at all. For the first time he has the choice between religion and no religion. If he is a genuinely devout Roman Catholic, he will continue to attend mass and perform his religious obligations. If he is a mere formalist, and happens not to take up his residence in a community practically transplanted bodily from his native soil, or to come under the influence of an especially active priest, he will fall away from the practices which at home were a matter of course, and be content with having recourse to the Church only as a matter

of expediency—and habit—in greatest extremities. The result is that among Italians in America it is perhaps more common to find, on the one hand, open hostility to the Church than in Italy, and, on the other hand, more vital and active life within the Church itself. A closer parallel is that of the boy who goes from his village home to the city. The fact that in the village he is known to almost everybody binds him to do what his family and his acquaintances do. The fact, on the other hand, that in the city no one he knows will notice his absence from church or his presence in the dive leaves him free to choose, and he will choose the one or the other according to the inward force of will rather than the outward force of opinion. The result is that among young men in the city are found both wilder dissipation and sturdier self-control than among the young men of a village community. In much the same way, the man from the East who goes to the City, the Resort, or the Camp of Colorado finds himself confronted with the necessity of making his own choice in matters of conduct and faith. This is not so much because he is presented with new alternatives, as is true in the case of the immigrant; nor so much because he is no longer subject to the regard of interested neighbors, as is true in the case of the village boy in the city—though both these facts are contributing causes—as because he has entered into a life essentially unconventional. In the East a man gets material advantage by leading an outwardly respectable life, and even by being identified, either in person or through his family, to some extent at least, with the Church. In Colorado an outwardly respectable life, it is safe to say, is not any disadvantage to a man, but it is hardly safe to say that in the Camp, in the Resort, or even in the City it brings any immediate visible reward; and as for church membership, perhaps the safest thing to say is that there is less excuse for

¹ This is the concluding article of the series on Religious Life in America. The first article was published in The Outlook for November 16, 1901. Subsequent articles appeared in the issues for November 23, November 30, December 28, 1901; and January 11, January 18, March 8, April 19, June 14, June 21, July 26, September 13, 1902.

moral anomalies among church members than in most places in America. The result is that, according not only to what I heard of, but also to what I saw, in Colorado as in no other region I visited, open, unshamed violation of common morality exists side by side with genuine, courageous, and single-minded religious faith and life.

It was only a brief glimpse that I had of the City. That was enough, however, to include the extremes characteristic of the State. Denver is a city of broad streets and squalid slums; of dives and of churches; of *nouveaux riches* and of college men. At the time I was there, it happened that, on the one hand, I heard a considerable discussion—made possible by woman suffrage—concerning the effect upon municipal conditions of the votes cast by inmates of disorderly houses; and, on the other hand, I attended a reception at which there were present the presidents of four important colleges. No city, however, can wholly withstand the encroachments of conventionalism. So Denver is growing more conventional—in matters of institutional religion at any rate. Most of its churches, like most of the churches in the cities of the East and the Middle West, have been moving uptown, following along in the procession of the respectable. Some of these churches are very prosperous. One in particular that I saw, owing in part to the natural growth of this Western city, owing in part to the efficiency of its pastor, seemed like one of those Western corn-fields in which the corn grows so fast that you can hear it crackle as it grows. But this church was composed mainly of what the Englishman would call middle-class people, and what most Americans think of when they visualize the great Sovereign Citizen.

In spite of this tendency to conventionality, one man I met has remained during these years an apostle of the unconventional. This was "Parson Tom," as he is universally known, the minister of a Congregational church. He was a member of the City Council. In order to find him I had to go to the City Hall. As we came down the steps together, a man and woman, both poorly dressed, stopped him and held a hurried, brief consultation with him. The parson-councilman explained that this man and wife had

come to him for a chance to get a job under the city government. Here was one minister who believed there was no reason why a minister should not use for unselfish ends a means of "reaching" people which the ward boss uses too often for corrupt and selfish ends. We walked along the street to his new church building, then in process of construction. A drunken man hailed him in response to a touch on the shoulder. Two little children greeted him as an old friend. A man, evidently a day-laborer, asked for a chance to see him. So the appearance of the parson's stalwart figure evoked from one after another expressions of friendliness and confidence. And all this was on the edge of the "scarlet district." He told me stories of the turmoil in the city occasioned by the influx of men who left Chicago during the panic of '93; how troops came by train to the fort, how the banks were used as arsenals, how with others he had succeeded in preventing starvation by supplying the men with bologna sausages, how he had had to address the crowds, how with others he succeeded in sending the men out with State money to the Missouri River, how afterwards in Memphis he came across a man who said to him, "I'm one of those you sent out; there are five hundred of us here working on the levee, and we'll give you an ovation;" and how he had met others of those men in all sorts of places between Chicago and San Francisco. The minister who has had influence with laboring men, individually and in large bodies, under both ordinary and extraordinary circumstances, is rare. The views of such a man on the religious life of workingmen are, I think, worth summarizing. In the first place, he was convinced that it was one thing to win the approval of the labor agitator and quite another to win the approval of the great body of wage-earners. In the second place, he recognized certain obstacles in the very unconventionality of Western life; the unreligious atmosphere which, though uncongenial to cant and pretense, is also uncongenial to devoutness; the open Sunday, with its "splendid opportunities for staying away from church;" the many organizations which are more attractive to men under ordinary conditions than the churches are, though want-

ing in the message which the church has for great exigencies; and the tendency of the church to revert to traditional methods even under such new conditions as those of a Colorado city.

We soon came to the new church building. It was only a block or two from the old building. He explained his action in remaining on the edge of the "scarlet district" by saying, "If you set a trap on the hill to catch a fish in the river, you'll be a long time catching him. I've got about two-thirds of the city to look after." Yet his work was very far from being merely what is termed "rescue work." His chief interest was in the poor of the district, who were forced by circumstances to live in an environment full of vice and shame. He felt keenly the unfairness to these poor of permitting disorderly houses to exist among them. He has shown the courage of his convictions by refusing to leave this district. His mother, he told me, sharing his convictions, shares also in his work, for, though she is seventy-five years old, she drives about with a little Shetland pony, distributing to the needy. And now that he had to build a new church, he chose a site where it would primarily serve the neighborhood, and only secondarily be accessible to those of his congregation whose lines are fallen in pleasanter places.

In the Resort, many of the people are, of course, enforced idlers. Since they are there either because of their own ill health or because of the ill health of some member of the family, such people, with more time than they know how to occupy wisely, and more money than they know how to spend judiciously, are strongly tempted to welcome their release from conventionality by releasing themselves also from common moral obligation. Those people, therefore, whose conduct in the East is bound chiefly by a sense of propriety, make the discovery, soon after their arrival in Colorado, that their conduct there is under scarcely any bonds whatever. Those, on the other hand, who carry their moral principles with them find those principles as unaffected by the lessening of the pressure of conventionalism as by the lessening of the pressure of the atmosphere. Take away the sanction of convention, and the goats of their own free will separate

themselves from the sheep. A sojourn in Colorado Springs has afforded many men and women, who have abundant time and money, a very close approximation to the modern theologian's conception of the Day of Judgment. Only, conventionalism does not wholly disappear; so the approximation is but earthly, after all. It naturally follows from all this that such people as make a pretense of religion in the East continue in that pretense when they reach the Colorado Resort—so far as they continue in it at all—less as a studied means for self-advancement than as a habit of which they are more or less unconscious.

Such a condition cannot fail to strike one who cares at all for reality in religion as in the main thoroughly wholesome. In the first place, it prevents the sanctimonious hypocrite from deceiving almost every well-informed person, except possibly himself. No circumstance can ever wholly cure self-deception. In the second place, it makes possible a genuineness in religious life which is at best limited under any other condition.

That such a condition of genuineness in conduct, in spite of its concomitant open immorality, can do away with much of the misunderstanding between organized wage-earners and organized Christian people was illustrated by what a carpenter, himself a man not only of deep religious convictions but also of fine fiber and native refinement, told me. He prefaced his tale, which others corroborated and partly amplified, by saying that industrial conditions in Colorado Springs had been for years exceptionally easy. There had been such a continuous demand for labor in the building trades that the wages of carpenters, for instance, had risen in nine years from \$2.75 a day to \$3.50, and the hours of labor per day had decreased from ten to eight. This process, moreover, had gone on without a strike and with only one instance of temporary suspension of work, and that had occurred by a misunderstanding of the state of affairs on the part of outsiders. Under these conditions the relations between employers and employed had come to be pleasant. The men did as much work in eight hours as they had been accustomed to do in ten, for, as it was explained, "they feel that the conditions are happy, and want

to make an equivalent." In reply to my inquiries as to how these pleasant relations between labor and capital were brought about, I heard from more than one source the following story, in about the form which I give it:

Several years ago, when the wage-earner who was mainly responsible for the undertakings I am about to describe first entered "the organization," he was convinced that the mutual feeling between labor and capital could be made more cordial. At that time certain strikes in the West had made this feeling especially bitter. At Colorado Springs some union men, of rather fiery temper and of disposition violently opposed to religion, attempted, in spite of the easy industrial conditions there, to intensify these bitter feelings. The member of whom I have spoken, being chairman, could not take the floor to counsel a better spirit, so he suggested that the union institute a series of talks on labor problems, make the meetings open, and send special invitations to ministers and to employers of labor. The first speaker was selected with great care; the meetings were held; a number of ministers became interested, and their verdict was, "Why, this is Christian; it is neither Anarchy nor Socialism." Then followed labor conferences. The attendance of the general public grew so that it was necessary to hire the high-school building for the meetings. The subjects, instead of being general, were selected with regard to municipal matters of current interest. The question of municipal ownership of street railways grew out of the refusal of the local street railway company to hold to its promise of granting free transfers, because it was too expensive. As this materially affected the wage-earners, they took up at the conference the cost of running streetcars. Investigation showed that the company was using money to boom suburban lots. As Colorado Springs owned the water plant, a good contrast was afforded between private and public ownership of municipal monopoly. In a similar way the ownership of the electric light plant was discussed. The country was scoured for information. The result was that the rich men of the place and the wage-earners met on the common level of economic facts. The personal meeting

brought about a mutual respect for intellectual qualities. The members of the unions and the employers caught the spirit of the undertaking. They learned to speak easily on their feet. Men who had formerly been bitterly opposed to organized labor became friends, because of the reasonableness of the unions. Of course there was no lack of opposition and indifference; of course there were some sad experiences. Certain of the churches and the ministers failed to fall into line. On the other side two of the labor organizations proved unruly. One of these started a movement for higher wages, but failed because they did not get the support of the other unions and the sympathy of the public. The movement resulted, not only in a failure to gain its end, but also in a distinct loss. This was one direct result of the conferences; it gave a new value and sanction to public opinion. Another result was that the support of the conferences by certain churches and ministers heartened that minority in the unions who were genuinely religious, and, as was shown by subsequent events, gave to those who had not been in sympathy with the Church a new conception of institutional religion.

Such was the situation when the Young Men's Christian Association proposed the building of new quarters. Until then the Association had done very little to bring wage-earners into its membership. After these conferences proved successful, the member of the union who had suggested and directed them was chosen, in spite of his modest protest that he was incompetent, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Association. I give his story about the building as nearly as possible in his own words:

"They were talking about getting money for the building. But, as I became acquainted with the new secretary, who had been a wage-earner and was a member of a labor union, 'Here,' said I to him, 'I've got something for you. I want you to go to the organizations.' And I had this advantage, for I could say, 'Boys, here's a man who carries his card.' The responses were generous. I was strengthened, you see, by having a man who was a wage-earner with me. I said, 'When this building is finished we want a

label on top.' I spoke to the teamsters, and we got a contribution from them of forty days' work, valued at four dollars a day. They gave it especially on account of their boys. One man—a Bob Ingersoll man—objected, but finally he gave one day's work with three teams—that means twelve dollars. Then the pick and shovel men each promised to give from one to three days' work. In the carpenters' organization the decision was to give one day's work each—in cash, fifteen hundred dollars! So it went. This Young Men's Christian Association building is to be built as the cathedrals of France were built, by the voluntary and co-operative contribution of the labor of the people. When the day came, the organizations left their work to see the breaking of ground. The men wore ribbons, yellow, pinned on labels, and they were proud of them. They got out the band. They had a parade three-quarters of a mile long. There were the police, the band, the high-school cadets, and the labor organizations with their banners, and each man carried a flag. This will show the interest: An old German, who is a Grand Army man, and who says that there is only one holiday, Decoration Day, because he was 'in it,' had never lost a half-day's work otherwise; but, don't you know, he gave half a day for this parade! Another man gave a dollar and said: 'This is all I can afford, but I want you to take this dollar and buy some bricks, and mark them, and put them in the front where I can see them.' The teamster who was to haul out the first load was chosen by his organization; others were grouped about. That's the way the ground was broken for the building. While this good feeling exists we want all to have a part in the better things this building stands for." "Yes," he added, in answer to a remark of mine, "it seems that I've had a part in this, for which I am very grateful."

This is what a recreation and health resort has contributed toward the solution of one of the most vexing problems in the religious life of America.¹ It is unquestionable, however, that the method would have been ineffectual if it had not been

for certain individual men—chiefly three: the member of the union who suggested the project, the President of Colorado College, and the Secretary of the Association. As in every other successful effort for practical religious life that I have seen, the chief agency in this was forceful personality.

The way to the Camp lay over the snow-streaked mountains. The train crawled up the grade. Soon Colorado Springs lay like a map on the table-land below. Up went the train, along gorges, around almost spiral curves. Suddenly it stopped with a jerk. The road was new, and the melting snow had brought down a mass of loosened earth and rock upon the tracks. Stock-brokers, miners, bankers, tourists, left the train and walked ahead. There men with crowbars, picks, and shovels were clearing away the *débris*. Soon darkness fell. In the dim light of lanterns the huge rocks glistened like snow. The gorges grew black and seemingly bottomless. The screech of a whistle echoed and re-echoed. A gleam of light shone on the rocks and was reflected in sinuous golden curves on the edge of the rails. The passengers who had gone beyond the landslide scattered to points of safety as the train from Cripple Creek flashed and rumbled past. Immediately an exchange of passengers was made. The two huge locomotives glared and snorted at each other. Over the pile of stones and earth between them, human creatures, like midgets beneath the masses of rock, darted in and out of the shadows. A man carrying a rifle guarded the express matter. The steam from the engines formed a vast sheet on which the moving shadows of gigantic men passed. Prismatic blues and yellows edged this sheet of vapor with color. Yet this scene of light was but a spot in the enveloping blackness. Deep down I knew, I felt, but could not see, was the precipitous slope of the mountain side. Then slowly the train started. Within the car the conversation was of mines and stocks. Another sudden stop. Another landslide ahead. After a long delay the obstruction was removed with dynamite. Then hours of cautious creeping in the darkness. Suddenly in the velvety blackness below gleamed a mass of constellations, as if these heights were indeed the very border

¹The Young Men's Christian Associations of Cleveland and Dayton, Ohio, have succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of wage-earners, though in quite different fashion from that I have just described. I was not fortunate enough to include in my observations either of these Ohio cities.

of the earth and we were gazing down at the sky beneath us. These nether stars were the lights of Cripple Creek.

It was after two o'clock Sunday morning when we reached the station. From a street near by, brilliantly lighted, where men and women could be seen entering and leaving the dives and resorts of vice, came the sound of dance music and revelry. At the big hotel gambling-wheels and slot-machines were in evidence. Yet it was in this city, which is called the Camp, that I found, when at last daylight returned, a church with as vigorous and genuine a religious spirit as it has ever been my good fortune to see. Here, in the midst of a district which comprised a population of fifty thousand, where ten years before there had been nothing but grazing-ground for cattle, there was evident a stalwart faith that is rarely developed in communities outwardly more civilized.

The small Congregational church was filled with a congregation made up largely of men. There was a quality of spontaneity in the service that is not too common in public worship. The sermon was rugged in diction, thoughtful, and genuine—every word of it. The Bible class after the morning service was marked by an interchange of ideas, real ideas. It seemed incredible even at the time, but it was invigorating. I had occasion afterwards to feel the grip of some of those miners' hands. That was invigorating, too.

The minister explained, as he pointed out the foundations of a new building in front of his church, that there were the beginnings of a parish house, some day to contain a gymnasium, swimming-tank, reading-room, and other means of wholesome recreation. It was designed to afford young men some other place besides "Hell's Acre" to go to for amusement. Where was the money to come from for the cost of construction? The minister did not know. Nobody in Cripple Creek seems to know just where money is coming from. One thing was clear: this parish house was not a "drawing card." As the minister stated it, in order to get hold of men in Cripple Creek, it does no good to shake the tree; you must pick them by hand.

This method of building the house is characteristic of the Camp. It is the abode of idealists. "There are three

stages in the history of a mining camp," said the minister. "The first is the stage of the wilderness, without habitation. The second follows the discovery of gold, when the miners, too busy in the early work of prospecting to think of comfort, live in shacks. This invariably ends with a destructive fire. Then comes the stage of permanent building. It is when the miner is living in his shack that he is most luxurious, for then he is really—in his imagination—not living in his shack at all, but in marble and in down." A church in a mining camp cannot wholly escape this idealism. This is one result of the unconventionality of Cripple Creek.

But the men of the Camp do not stop with ideals. They are men who do things. And the church is of the same sort. A church of one hundred members that raises eight hundred dollars in one year for missions is certainly not engaged merely in dreaming.¹ The active energy of the churches in Cripple Creek is, however, to be seen chiefly in the unorganized activity of their individual members. In this respect the Church in the Camp is too much like the Church in the rest of the world.

It is true that even the Camp, unconventional as it is, has not been exempt from doctrinal controversy. I had the privilege of hearing the end of a debate which centered about the meaning in the New Testament of the Greek verb translated "baptize." The minister who began it undertook to prove that it really signified "immerse," and sneeringly challenged a reply. It is hardly necessary to say that the frequenters of "Hell's Acre" registered no protest against either interpretation. In fairness, however, it should be said that this exhibition of denominational pertness was probably unusual, and, at any rate, while it lasted was marked by a vigor and candor wholly appropriate to the character of the region.

Above all, religion in the Camp is saved from the depredations of its most treacherous enemy—sanctimony. The sanctimonious man is to be found there, I know, for I saw him, but he is "sized up." If he is a vicious hypocrite, he has no chance,

¹A few months after the date of my visit the public gambling-houses were closed and the professional gamblers driven from town. This was due to the energy and courage of a few men in the churches backed up by public opinion and the integrity of a judge.

for, as one man expressed it, "vice is so open here that a hypocrite can't live a loose life on the quiet;" consequently he takes, or appears to take, "a tremendous tumble." If he is merely a pharisee, he fares no better, for a pharisee is only a religious or moral snob, and in a mining camp there are too many grim and exciting realities for men to stand in awe of any kind of snobbery. The practical absence of all moral and religious pretense enhances the power of a life governed by genuine moral principle and religious impulse. Good coin is more efficient as a circulating medium when practicable counterfeits are made impossible.

Certain practical results from this absence of pretense were evident to me in Cripple Creek. In the first place, since most opposition to religion is really a form of resentment against imposture, open confession of religion in Cripple Creek, just because it was almost certain to be genuine, appeared to meet with no ridicule or antagonism. When, for instance, on Sunday night the minister and I entered a disreputable dance-hall, our presence was unnoticed although my companion wore a clerical costume. A few doors away a "Gospel Mission," with dives on each side, was being conducted without the least sign of molestation; and near by in the same street, where the sidewalks were used with almost the same freedom that the houses were, the Salvation Army was carrying on a meeting and was not only unmolested, so I was assured, but also thoroughly respected. Such, I understood, had been the experience of the Salvation Army continually at Cripple Creek. Indeed, the men of the Camp, because they live in an atmosphere of hatred of cant, are emphatically open-minded, and will give a hearing to a preacher as scarcely any other body of men will do. My clerical Congregational guide said that he often had preached to crowds on the streets and had always been respectfully heard; that, in fact, some of the most active members of his church he first saw in a street crowd at a preaching. This, then, I noticed, was one result of the absence of cant—that the religious life was accorded respect,

In the second place, certain methods of religious work that elsewhere would have the taint of conventionalism and would seem pietistic seemed in the mining camp to be spontaneous and genuine. Neither in the accounts I heard of "conversions," nor in personal experiences in the church, did I discover anything either unctuous or perfunctory. A spirit of genuineness invests even conventional forms with new value.

In the third place, the freedom from pretense increased the value of the test, "By their fruits ye shall know them." The mine superintendent who succeeded in bringing about the regular closing of his mine every Sunday testified by his action to the strength of his religious convictions all the more because he carried no man's favor by his action. To what a different tree the same fruit may sometimes bear witness was illustrated by another mine superintendent who closed his mine on Sundays while his wife visited him from the East. That bit of pretense was not indigenous to the soil of the Camp. When left to itself, Cripple Creek may be immoral, but it certainly is temperamentally sincere. For that reason I could more readily believe the testimony of the superintendent of a mine that he wanted religious men to work in his mine, because they were free from vicious habits, they were more efficient workmen, and took more interest in the company's welfare and success than others did. Cripple Creek, just because it is free from pretense, places upon the religious life a very real and entirely distinctive ethical value.

The City, the Resort, and the Camp, each in its own way, set before men with unconcealed contrast the good and the evil from which to choose. There is little mingling of the black with the white. Somehow it is very wholesome—this facing of the fact of evil, and making deliberate choice for or against it. Certainly, whether you think or not, as I do, that it is exhilarating, it is certainly true that in Colorado the Church has a freedom, which it has so completely in few other regions, to make it clear that there is no compromise between the evil that men should hate and shun and the good that men should choose, the Christ they should follow, the God they should love and serve.

Reminiscences of a Dramatic Critic¹

WITH pleasant memories, tinged by a sentiment inseparable from our youth, we open a book whose title-page bears the familiar quotation, "*Forsan et hæc olim meminisse juvabit.*" The "Reminiscences of a Dramatic Critic" are full of the charm that is found only where enthusiasm is tempered by nice discrimination. Mr. Henry Austin Clapp for many years has studied the fluctuations of the drama in America, and, both from natural taste and assiduous attention, is peculiarly fitted to guide public opinion. As a boy he was interested in the theater, and a reader of dramatic literature.

In his own phrase, when he began this work—thirty years ago—as dramatic critic on the Boston "Daily Advertiser," he brought to it an unaffected eagerness and an intensity of interest which have not flagged in succeeding years. It is exactly that eager interest which makes his criticism well worth while, and keeps it fresh in spite of familiarity, and vital however often disappointment thrusts itself upon the critic. Looking back over a half-century, Mr. Clapp insists, and one agrees with him entirely, that children used to enjoy the theatrical shows especially prepared for them, far more than do the *blasés* children of to-day, who certainly go to the theater, but for whom almost no provision is made. Then fairy tales were put upon the stage just to delight the little folks, who responded loyally. Variety shows flourished in those days, of which the modern "vaudeville" (a name chosen, apparently, because its patrons cannot pronounce it) is the modern representative. Concerning the latter, the critic believes it does not jeopardize public morals, but hopes that the use of these mild sedatives in the guise of amusement "will not be so extensive and long-continued as seriously to soften the gray matter of the public's brain." Mr. Clapp declares, with bitter truth, that the great body of theater-goers swarm to the playhouses with as blind an instinct as that which compels the migration of a school

of fish. The real critic affects them not at all. He only appeals to a judicious remainder, large in number though comparatively few, and hopes to produce an impression upon them. He supports his statement by an appeal to the similar experience of literary critics—an appeal that touches us nearly. He says puntingly, "The huge public which revels in the novels, for example, of 'Albert Ross' and Mrs. Mary J. Holmes knows no more about book notices than it knows about the Eddas."

One difference is noticeable, however. Who ever heard any one say that he was going "to read a book" without an idea as to its subject? Yet almost every patron of the play uses a phrase as inane when he merely remarks, with an air of sufficient definiteness, that he is "going to the theater."

Mr. Clapp indulges in certain frank criticisms of his own city which probably are more acceptable here than there. He says Boston is of all large American cities the most ebulliently naïve in its passion for the theater. New York, though cynical and capricious, has developed a taste of some fastidiousness and discrimination. Boston stays childishly greedy, the place whose patronage for every form of theatrical entertainment, bad and good, is surest and, in proportion to its size, largest.

In a brief comparison between the enduring and the ephemeral drama, Mr. Clapp makes this fine distinction. The play which never passes into literature, which cannot endure reading and re-reading, has in it the sure seed of death. "Out of a hundred contemporary dramas, ninety are flat and unprofitable on a first perusal, and ninety and nine are warranted to cause mental nausea at a second." Leaving the general subject, we pass on to the enlightening critical descriptions of noted actors.

The half-decade from 1870 to 1875 Mr. Clapp calls the great dramatic quinquennium. Charles Fechter, Carlotta Leclercq, and Tommaso Salvini first appeared in this country; Charles James Mathews revisited our stage; Charlotte Cushman was at the height of her success; Nilsson and Lucca and Parepa Rosa were

¹ *Reminiscences of a Dramatic Critic.* With an Essay on the Art of Henry Irving. By Henry Austin Clapp. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

first seen and heard here in opera. Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Sothorn the elder, were all in their zenith or approaching it, and Madame Janauschek and Adelaide Neilson were winning laurels. For the famous comedian William Warren Mr. Clapp entertains profound respect and admiration. Boston was fortunate to be the home and workshop of that artist for almost a half-century. In sharp contrast to the deplorable modern "star" system of "histrionic vagabondage," Mr. Warren's record on his seventieth birthday was 13,345 performances, in which he had appeared in 577 characters! Mr. Clapp notes the difference between him and his kinsman Joseph Jefferson, who within possibly twenty-five years has limited himself, at ninety-nine out of every hundred performances, to exactly *four* characters.

Quotation is especially enticing, but we cannot indulge in it to any extent. The author's pen-picture of Charlotte Cushman brings that actress again before our eyes. As Mr. Clapp says, she was the only actress native to our soil to whom the adjective "great" can be fitly applied. Mary Anderson was to Charlotte Cushman as a march of Sousa is to a symphony of Beethoven. Her impersonation of Queen Katherine is pronounced her crowning achievement.

The critic succumbs to the inimitable Lord Dundreary, a comparatively subordinate part which Sothorn made a genuine and convincing personality.

A glowing tribute is paid to Edwin Booth, "whose art was the crown of our tragic stage during nearly all the second half of the nineteenth century." The art of elocution as Booth practiced it, in Mr. Clapp's opinion, is, for the theater of 1902, a lost art. The tradition of Edwin Booth's art, and his illustrious name and fame, are "all that is left to the American tragic stage." Strong words these, but compelling assent from the serious students of our theater.

Among foreign visitors to America, Charles Fechter, Tommaso Salvini, Adelaide Neilson, and Henry Irving are foremost in these reminiscences. The criticism of Fechter (pronounced "Fayshtair") defines with great precision the powers and limitations of the actor. Fechter's love-making was the best the critic ever

saw upon the stage, but he was quite unable to interpret King Lear or Iago or Macbeth adequately. Mr. Clapp pronounces his playing as almost perfect in its order, but its order was not the first.

In his essay upon the art of Henry Irving one sees the critic in his strength. Recognizing and keenly alive to the power of the actor, Mr. Clapp faces and carefully enumerates the blemishes, and protests against any toleration of what he calls "his more atrocious offenses." Hear him: "He has been on the stage the larger part of his life, and yet he has not learned how to sit, stand, or move with the ease, repose, vigor, and grace which are by turns or all together appropriate to attitude or action; and, worse even than this, he does not know how to speak his own language." What more can be said? "His oddities of utterance are no more English than they are Choctaw; sometimes they suggest Cornwall, sometimes Devonshire, occasionally northern Vermont." Yet Mr. Irving's personality is remarkable. His face is "without exception the most fascinating I have seen upon the stage," says Mr. Clapp. The principal source of Mr. Irving's power and success is pronounced to lie in the character and quality of his intellect. By his performances he demonstrates his right to "the first place in the scale of pure intelligence" among all the actors yet seen by the critic. His intelligence is "morally supplemented by a fine patience and devoted persistence." Yet Mr. Clapp feels the lack of temperament. His work is interesting, but is deficient in higher emotional force and sustained passionate power.

This temperamental solidity which the critic misses in the actor has its seat in the will and heart and imagination, "not in the arms and legs," not at all in what Mr. Irving's idolaters sneeringly call "robustiousness." Mr. Irving generally appeals to the intellect or the artistic sense, producing æsthetic delight, not a profound stirring of the heart. Mr. Clapp says that the existence of this great actor is an inestimable boon to the stage of England and America, adding this pungent phrase, "inasmuch as it is impossible that his peculiar faults should find many imitators." The essay on Irving appeared in the "Atlantic Monthly" in

1884, a few months after Mr. Irving's first appearance in this country. Mr. Clapp reprints it with no substantial change, because his opinions have undergone no change.

With an extract from a chapter upon the peculiar isolation of actors as a class,

we leave the Reminiscences to the enjoyment of prospective readers: "The guild of actors is the most charming, naïf, clever, contracted, conventional, disorderly, sensitive, insensible, obstinate, generous, egotistic body in the world, and—'unique.'"

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Administration of Dependencies (The). A Study of the Evolution of the Federal Empire, with Special Reference to American Colonial Problems. By Alpheus H. Snow. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 6×9½ in. 618 pages. \$3.50.

Reserved for later notice.

Beautiful Joe's Paradise. By Marshall Saunders. Illustrated. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. 365 pages. \$1.20, net.

Beautiful Mrs. Moulton (The). By Nathaniel Stephenson. Illustrated. John Lane, New York. 5½×8 in. 326 pages. \$1.20, net.

Bible in Brazil (The). By H. C. Tucker. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 292 pages. \$1.25, net.

Blue Badge of Courage (The). By Henry H. Hadley. Saalfield Publishing Co., Akron, Ohio. 5×7½ in. 468 pages. \$1.25.

This is not a parody of Stephen Crane's "Red Badge of Courage," but "the story of the wonderful, tragical, thrilling, and glorious experiences" of the author, who acknowledges that he is a reformed gambler and drunkard, ex-General of the United States Church Army, and the founder of fifty-nine Rescue Missions. The "blue badge" is the button of a temperance society. The early chapters describe in breezy fashion life in Ohio early in the nineteenth century, with its vulgarity, its religious hysteria, its humor, and its sentiment. Incidents of war time, of gamblers, of the slums, of mission work, follow in rapid succession to the end. The author describes his conversion through the influence of his brother, who has his own story to tell in another book, "Down in Water Street," reviewed in a following paragraph. This autobiography, told in the third person, without literary dignity (the author hopes he has not made it "too respectable"), gives in racy style a series of vivid impressions of religious work among the submerged tenth. Jerry McAuley's Mission, the Avenue A Mission of St. George's Church, and St. Bartholomew's Mission appear among the scenes.

Captive of the Roman Eagles (A). By Felix Dahn. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. 5½×8 in. 424 pages. \$1.50.

This story deals with that early period when Roman power was feeling the inroads of Christianity and the Pagan Teutons were not yet converted. It has, however, little to do with religion and much with conflict. A beautiful German girl captured by the Romans is

the heroine. The story, like most German novels of this type, betrays a sound German knowledge of historic fact as a basis for romantic flights of imagination.

College Manual of Rhetoric (A). By Charles S. Baldwin, A.M., Ph.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 5×8 in. 451 pages. \$1.35.

Down in Water Street: A Sequel to the Life of Jerry McAuley. By Samuel H. Hadley. F. H. Revell & Co., New York. 5×7¼ in. 242 pages. \$1, net.

The author, successor to Jerry McAuley as superintendent of the Water Street Mission, relates incidents occurring in his mission work. As a source for information regarding elemental religious experiences this book has its value. The power of faith to awaken men's consciences, reinforce their wills, and turn them from lives of degradation to lives of self-control and virtue is here illustrated by many specific cases. The author's style, which is that of an untrained writer, is not as pictorial as that of his brother, whose book "The Blue Badge of Courage" we review in the preceding column, but, if more prosaic, it is also more dignified.

Downreiter's Son (A). By Ruth Hall. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5×7½ in. \$1.50.

Edgewood Echoes. By J. C. Foote. Eastern Publishing Co., Boston. 4×6½ in. 84 pages.

Fascination of London (The). Edited by Sir Walter Besant. 3 vols. Chelsea, by G. E. Mitten; Westminster, by Sir Walter Besant and G. E. Mitten; The Strand, by Sir Walter Besant and G. E. Mitten. The Macmillan Co., New York. 4×6½ in. 80 cents per vol.

These small books form part of a series edited by Sir Walter Besant, than whom no one knew and loved London better. Their interest is not merely historical, but literary and human. Sir Walter said that no other work had ever fascinated him like this, that he had walked about London for thirty years and every day found something fresh. He planned a systematic perambulation of the London parishes by different persons, and, in part, these little books carry out the scheme.

Incarnation of the Lord (The). By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5½×8 in. 243 pages. \$1.50, net.

These sermons are the product, not of a preacher, but of a technical theologian. This

book belongs in character alongside of the author's work on Messianic prophecy, and may not improperly be considered as its sequel. It is full of the terms of theological phraseology: theophany, logion, kenosis, archetype. The theological conceptions are essentially scholastic rather than philosophical. The book may be of value to the student of theology; it will not be valuable as an aid to practical spiritual life.

In the Light of the King's Countenance. By A. M. C. Deupree. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. 361 pages. \$1.25, net.

Japanese Girls and Women. By Alice M. Bacon. Illustrated Holiday Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. 337 pages. \$4.

Miss Bacon's book, now revised, enlarged, and delightfully illustrated, is not only the best but the only book which covers its interesting subject fully and with wide human sympathy. It well deserves its new and pleasing dress.

John Ruskin. By Frederic Harrison. (English Men of Letters.) The Macmillan Co., New York. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. 216 pages. 75c., net.

Reserved for later notice.

Letters of Hugh Earl Percy from Boston and New York (1774-1776). Edited by C. K. Bolton. Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in. 88 pages.

Life of Theodore Roosevelt (The). By Murat Halstead. Illustrated. Saalfeld Publishing Co., Akron, Ohio. $7 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. 391 pages.

Reserved for later notice.

Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate: Being Reminiscences and Recollections of the Rt. Rev. Henry Benjamin Whipple, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Minnesota. Illustrated. The Macmillan Co., New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. 576 pages. \$2, net.

A new edition in one volume of Bishop Whipple's extremely interesting autobiography, reviewed at length by The Outlook at the time of its publication three years ago. This edition contains all the original illustrations.

Lilian Bell Birthday Book. Edited by A. H. Bogue. L. C. Page & Co., Boston. Illustrated. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 245 pages.

Little Girl in Old Detroit (A). By Amanda M. Douglas. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. 363 pages. \$1.20, net.

Another romance dealing with early Detroit and the followers of its founder, Cadillac, in depicting the adventures of a little girl accidentally deserted by her French parents. The author handles history skillfully in weaving in her romance, with the result of producing a readable story of a people so interesting that their most serious achievements read like romance.

Little Woman in the Spout (The). By Mary A. Byrne. The Saalfeld Publishing Co., Akron, Ohio. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 84 pages. 60c.

A group of children fancy that a little old woman lives and keeps house in a water-spout they discover. Their experiences in bringing food and other presents to the occupant, their disappearance, and the children's wonder over what became of them, make up a quaint, fanciful little story.

Madge: A Girl in Venice. By F. Jennie Smith. Illustrated. Lee & Shepard, Boston. 5×8 in. 259 pages. \$1, net.

Maid-at-Arms (The). By Robert W. Chambers. Illustrated. Harper & Bros., New York. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 343 pages. \$1.50.

In a way, Mr. Chambers's new semi-historical romance carries on the story of "Cardigan." It is more compact and unified than that very popular book. It will be at least equally admired, because it has a really charming love story, a strange and effective dramatic incident—that which gives the book its title—and exciting accounts of scouting and fighting between Tories, British, and Indians on the one side and the American patriots on the other. The tale has a swing and go which make up for any lack of realism.

Margarita. By Elizabeth W. Champney. Illustrated. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. 341 pages. \$1.25, net.

A romance dealing with the Mississippi Basin, Detroit, and sections of Canada—wherever, in short, lay the interests of those famous explorers, La Salle, La Motte Cadillac, and others of that period, with whose exploits the book mainly deals. There are two charming heroines whose courage and devotion light the pages; one the daughter of Cadillac himself, and the other, Doña Maria Margarita de Villesco, daughter of a Spanish grandee, who gives name to the story. The romance is written with care and marked fidelity to historical truth, and goes far to portray the beauty of character and grand fidelity of some of the early Latin adventurers—men and women—in America.

Michael Kohlhaas. By Heinrich von Kleist. Introduction, etc., by William Kurrelmeyer. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in. 149 pages.

My Dogs in the Northland. By Egerton R. Young. Illustrated. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. 285 pages. \$1.25, net.

Boys, animal-lovers, and those who like to read of adventure will find this book one to rejoice in greatly. Mr. Young gives us true character sketches of the Eskimo and St. Bernard dogs who have shared his northern sledge journeys, his dangers, privations, and odd experiences. Since "Bob, Son of Battle" (which this book does not in the least resemble) there has been no better study of dog nature.

Needle's Eye (The). By Florence M. Kingsley. Illustrated. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. 386 pages. \$1.50.

Emphatically a story with a purpose, in which the duty of the rich towards their fellow-creatures merged in an environment of poverty and struggle forms the ruling motive. A boy foundling falls into the hands of a hideously hard and avaricious old farmer, whose kindly but terrorized wife does all she can for the child. Subsequently the lad discovers his people and inherits a fortune, which he uses for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. The altruistic spirit of the story, however, does not make it unduly didactic, and it is saved from wearisomeness by the author's insight into character and human nature.

Perennial Day-Book of Promise and Comfort. Compiled by Marie Louise Burge. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. 64 pages. \$1.

This is a small, attractively made quarto,

containing selected quotations from the Bible for every day in the year, each quotation suggesting or forming some kind of hopeful and comforting promise.

Poet and Penelope (The). By L. P. Truscott. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 5x8 in. 254 pages. \$1.25.

Essentially a love story. The characters all figure in English high life. A duke and duchess, together with several personages of lesser nobility, disport themselves in these pages beside Penelope and her poet—the lovers. A remarkable vase, an heirloom in Penelope's family, plays an important and mysterious part in the dénouement. The style is light, sportive, witty, with an undercurrent which betrays a subtle knowledge of human nature. A clean-cut bit of high comedy in high life.

Poppy Garden (A). By Emily M. Morgan. Illustrated. Edwin S. Gorham, New York. 5½x8½ in. 80 pages. 50c., net.

Queen of Quelparte (The). By A. B. Hulbert. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. 5½x8 in. 330 pages.

An exciting romance, dealing with the intricate policies of Western diplomats pitted against Oriental cunning. The scenes are laid in Korea or the adjacent island of Quelparte during the late upheavals and destruction in those sections. The tale is an odd mingling of fact and fiction. The style is brisk, graphic, journalistic; and whoever relishes strange legend, folk-lore, or superstition will find it galore in these pages. There is a love story of intense and heroic quality.

Rich and Poor in the New Testament. By Orello Cone, D.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½x8 in. 245 pages. \$1.50.

A work of profound scholarship, critical insight, and an open-mindedness worth more than both the other qualities in enabling the author to set forth the actual teachings of the New Testament regarding social classes, instead of finding in the New Testament his own social philosophy. The fact that the author is an advanced Unitarian, who is not disturbed by the sense that his own views must at all hazards accord with those of the New Testament, has perhaps aided him in preserving the historical as distinct from the polemical spirit. The book is one of rare illumination.

Right Princess (The). By Clara Louise Burnham. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 5x7½ in. \$1.50.

A clever story championing Christian Science, but remaining a story none the less. The heroine is an attractive young woman through whose tactful ministrations a defective young man is rescued from a revolting mental degeneration and restored to his right mind. There is a little controversial philosophizing about the impropriety of managing the "mentality" of another person without the patient's consent, but in general the character of a novel is well maintained.

Songs and Scissors. Words by L. L. Holmes. Music by Jessie L. Gaynor. C. F. Summy Co., Chicago. Illustrated. 12x12 in. Paper. 62 pages. \$1.25, net.

Ship of Dreams (The). By Louise Forsslund. Harper & Bros., New York. 5x7½ in. \$1.50.

South Carolina in the Revolution (1780-1783). By Edward McCrady, LL.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½x8 in. 787 pages. \$3.50, net.

The present volume takes up the history of the Revolutionary struggle at the time when organized resistance to British rule had been completely crushed, and follows the heroic work by which Sumter and Marion and their colleagues, without even a regular militia to support them, harassed the victorious invaders, and finally, with the aid of the Continental army under General Greene, secured the complete triumph of the Revolution in the Commonwealth where the people at the outset were the most divided. The history is an inspiring one to the indefatigable supporters of any baffled cause of freedom, and it is narrated with a warm love of freedom as well as thorough scholarship and clear historical judgment. Most Northern critics may, indeed, take issue with Mr. McCrady's eulogies of General Sumter at the expense of General Greene, but the Carolina historian's points are so strongly put, and many of them so convincing, that this feature of the volume furnishes further illustration of the advantage of having a new history of the American Revolution written from the standpoint of a Southerner, with the events at the South in the foreground. Mr. McCrady's sectional history of the Revolution throws more new light upon it than any general history that has appeared in recent years.

Works of F. Hopkinson Smith (The). Vol. IV. Tom Grogan. Vol. V. Gondola Days. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5x7½ in. Illustrated. (Beacon Edition.)

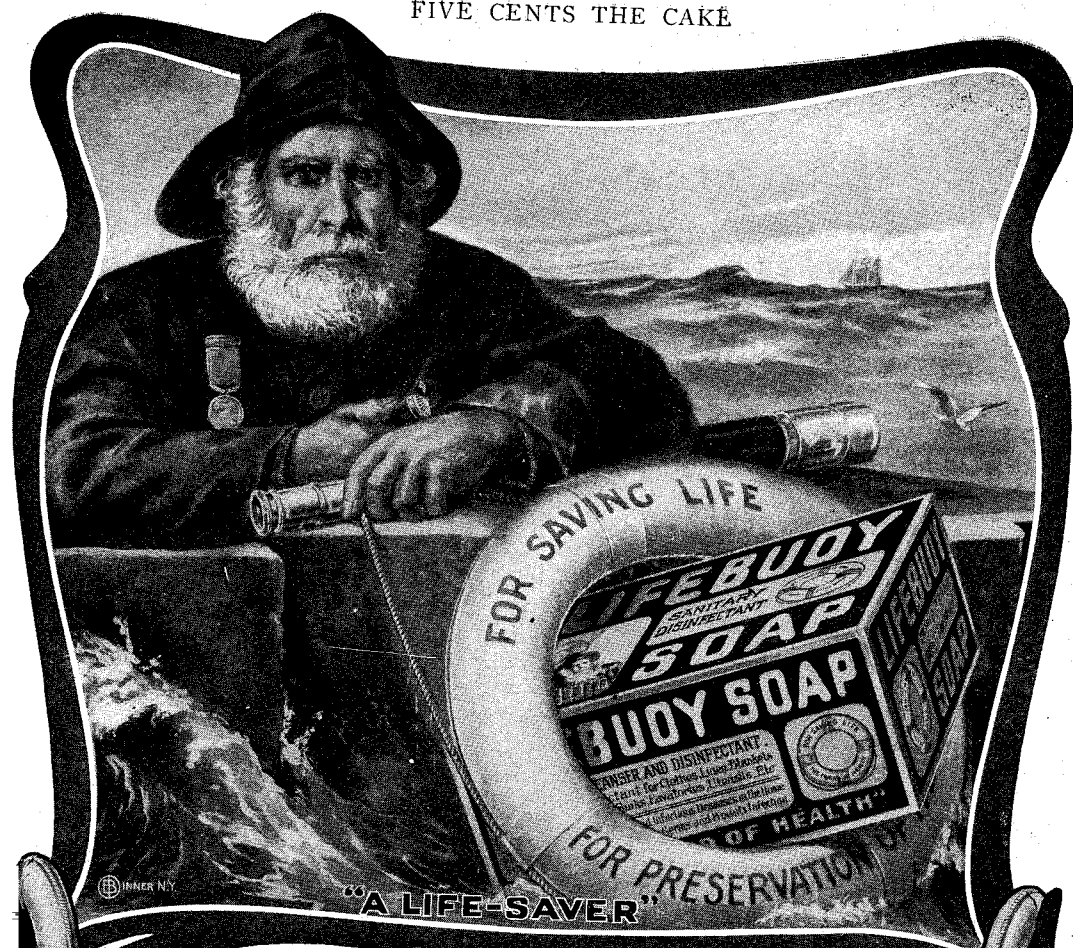
Yourself. By H. A. Guerber. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 5x7½ in. 282 pages. \$1.20, net.

A book dealing with the things which children ought to know about the laws of physiology, and which ought to be taught them in their homes and schools. The present work will be more acceptable to conventional people than was "About Fourteen," published by the same firm several years ago, but it does not equal its predecessor in moral elevation and quickening impulse toward personal purity. Its timidity, however, in dealing with the things which many goodish people would have their children grow up in a fool's paradise concerning, is likely to gain it an audience where the stronger book would be taboo.

Through an inadvertence, the article in The Outlook of September 27 entitled "The Proposed Packing-House Merger" was accredited to Frederick A. Mann. The article was written by Mr. Frederick Hoyt Mann, of Kansas City, a recognized authority on the subject of his paper.

A. C.—Many correspondents send us replies to "H. C.'s" inquiries regarding the poem entitled "Ode to the Deity," and if "H. C." will send his address to this office, we shall be pleased to send him a copy of the poem, which is to be found in several school speakers, and in collections of poetry, such as Dana's "Household Book of Poetry."

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